THE

HISTORY OF SERVIA,

AND

THE SERVIAN REVOLUTION.

WITH A SKETCH OF

THE INSURRECTION IN BOSNIA.

BY

LEOPOLD RANKE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY MRS. ALEXANDER KERR.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE SLAVE PROVINCES OF TURKEY.

CHIEFLY FROM THE FRENCH OF

CYPRIEN ROBERT.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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PREFACE

TO THE HISTORY OF SERVIA,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE eminent position assigned to Professor Ranke among modern historians renders any tribute to his distinguished merits superfluous, and, at the same time, affords a sufficient guarantee for the authenticity of every production emanating from such high authority.

No subject elucidated by the researches of Ranke can be otherwise than valuable; and the Revolution of Servia is one of greater interest and importance than may at first sight appear.

The geographical position of Servia, between Turkey and Austria, and forming, with the neighbouring countries, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, a border-land between two great empires of opposite creeds, has made this country the seat of a protracted struggle between European civilization and Oriental despotism—between the Christian and Mahomedan religions.

In the midst of these conflicting forces, the Servians present the interesting spectacle of a brave, hardy, and simple people, contending for national independence and religious freedom. Christians in faith, and subjected to the cruel persecutions of their infidel oppressors, their efforts to throw off the Moslem yoke met with little encouragement from Christian nations; except so far as they could be made instrumental in checking the encroachments, or counteracting the policy of other powers.

The Servians are too little known to the rest of Europe. While the other countries of Europe have been overrun by the herd of English tourists, Servia and the neighbouring states separating Austria from Turkey are almost *terra in-*

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cognita; even to the travellers who visit Vienna and Constantinople. And though steamboats ply on the Danube, Mr. Paton is as yet the only writer who has made English readers acquainted with Servia:* to the ability and intelligence of this gentleman the English public are indebted for a lively and faithful account of the present state of the Servians and their country.

Viewing them as a Christian people subjected to an infidel despotism, the Servians excite a sympathy that ought to be extended to the Bulgarians also. Professor Ranke, in a letter to the translator of this work, expresses a hope "that his History of the Servians may excite in our mighty nation an interest for the Christians under Turkish rule." This feeling influenced the translator in venturing upon a task, the difficulty of which would have induced her to shrink from it had she not been animated and encouraged by an ardent hope of thus promoting the author's views.

The almost legal exactness and judicial caution of Ranke, and the peculiarities of his style, which present many obstacles to the conscientious translator, characterize the present beyond any of the other works by the same author. This may be accounted for, partly by the vague and fragmentary character of the materials, and partly by those minute details of circumstances where effects appear disproportioned to causes. For it is a prevailing characteristic of all revolutionary periods, that great events arise out of seemingly trivial accidents; and the springs of action in national movements must often be sought for in the breast of an individual, or in the latent feelings of a small and yet uncivilized community.

This work, though professing only to treat of "the Revolution in Servia," and occupied chiefly with the most stirring and recent period of its history, is, however, not limited to the revolutionary era: the "Retrospective Sketch" of the Servians to which the earlier chapters are devoted, gives as complete an account of the rise and fall of the nation as is necessary to enable the reader to understand the position of affairs at the commencement of their struggle for independence. Perhaps it may even be as satisfactory a picture as

* Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family. Longmans, 1845.

any that could be drawn through the veil of obscurity which shrouds the annals of Servia. Viewed as a whole, indeed, Ranke's history is a valuable contribution to our very imperfect knowledge of a most interesting people: it exhibits in a striking manner the impotence of Moslem despotism, even when allied with warlike European powers, against the energies of a Christian people united in defence of their civil and religious liberties.

Servia—anciently a kingdom, then reduced to the state of a Turkish province almost without a name, and now a principality under the government of Georgewitsch, the son of their liberator Kara George—may be regarded as the precursor of the minor States of the Eastern corner of Europe, in their struggle for emancipation from Turkish thraldom.

In all barbarous or semi-civilized states, there is a want of that high moral tone, which is the soul of national honour. Human life is held lightly; the rights of property are not respected; and individual will and might prevail.

> "Sufficeth them the simple plan,
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep who can."

This is painfully apparent throughout the history of Servia. The divine principle of Christianity, though stifled in the fierce conflict for existence, was not wholly extinct. But it is not until Christianity—a vital religion, purified from fanaticism and superstition—becomes firmly established in the hearts of a people and the institutions of a country, that the duties and rights of man can be fully understood and truly observed, or that the character and influence of woman can be rightly appreciated.

The History of Servia, as traced by Ranke, suggests the consideration of many and great truths, moral and political; but it is beyond the province of the translator to enter upon their discussion.

It may, however, be permitted her to remark that the subjection of Christian nations to the infidel yoke, is matter not merely for regret, but a subject that calls for the attention and active sympathy of the enlightened and powerful governments of Christendom.

And in these days of enlightenment, when missionaries are diffusing the doctrines of Christianity among the heathen in

the remotest parts of the world, and the legislature is organizing a comprehensive educational scheme for the people at home, it is surely not unreasonable to hope that the condition of a Christian people so near to us as Servia, will excite the sympathy of their brethren in faith in this free country.

The fanaticism of their Moslem rulers is so strongly opposed to every attempt of the Servians and Bulgarians to form educational institutions, and even to acquire the elements of Christian knowledge, that it is only by foreign intervention —not the less effectual for being of a peaceful kind—that the means and opportunities so earnestly desired by the Christian population of these countries can be afforded them.

The Turks have been intruders in Europe from the first; grinding down the people, and impoverishing the countries which they overran; and warring alike against liberty, enlightenment, and Christianity. If we are to judge of a faith and a government by their fruits, we should all unite in hoping that the Mahomedan religion and the obstructive despotism of the "Sublime Porte" should yield to the now swiftly-advancing tide of Christian civilization.

67, *Grosvenor Street,*
July, 1847.

To this, the Third Edition of Mrs. Kerr's Translation of Professor Ranke's History of Servia, the Publisher has added a translation of the same Author's sketch of the state of Bosnia; which, though slight, is the only available account of that country.

In the absence of any account by Professor Ranke of the other Slave Provinces of Turkey, it is hoped that the information contained in the concluding pages, derived chiefly from the work of Cyprien Robert, will be acceptable to the Public at the present time, when the attention of Europe is directed to the countries on the Danube.

H. G. B.

York Street,
November 25th, 1853.

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ERRATA.

Page 312, line 17. For "we thus," read "we are thus."
„ 314, last line but nine. For "offered," read "opposed."
„ 344, last line but twelve. For "the terrible," read "this terrible."
„ 351, last line but ten. For "Kemlin," read "Semlin."
„ 354, line 14. For "scope action," read "scope of action."
„ 355, line 2. "*in*" should be in Roman letters.

HISTORY OF SERVIA.

CHAPTER I.

RETROSPECTIVE SKETCH OF THE RISE OF THE SERVIANS.

The early Sclavonian Tribes.—First traces of the Servian Race.—View of Ancient Servia.—Relations of the Servians to the Greek Empire.—Stephan Boistlaw.—Constantine Monomachus.—The Grand Shupanes.—Crusade of Frederic Barbarossa at the close of the Twelfth Century.—Aversion of the Servians to the Western Church.—New Ecclesiastical Constitution in Servia.—The Servian Kings.—Conflict between the Latins and Greeks.—Stephan Dushan.—Increased Power of the Servians in the Fourteenth Century.—Progress of Civilization.—State of Transition.—Nationality of the Servian Laws.

THE most remarkable and significant epoch in the history of Sclavonian nations is found towards the close of the ninth century.

Migrations had ceased; immense tracts of country had been populated; and numerous tribes, of whose very names the ancients were scarcely cognisant, had advanced some steps within the limits of historical and geographical recognition. Foreign rule, as that of the Avars, had been cast off; and the time was come for the Sclavonians to raise themselves into independence, and to attempt the formation of political institutions.

At the period referred to (the latter part of the ninth century) we find the great Moravian kingdom extending beyond Cracow, and far down the Elbe: even the Zechians in Bohemia formed part of it; and to this day they recollect the great King Svatopluk in Moravia. At this time arose amongst the Lechians in the neighbourhood of Gnesne and

Posen, the Piasts: the first princes who did not belong to the old race of the people.

It was by a union of Sclavonic-Tshudish tribes, under Norman princes, that the Russian Empire was originally formed; taking from the first a decided direction towards the Lower Danube and Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Sclavonian Apostles, Methodius and Cyrillus, traversed all the countries bordering on the Danube, and became distinguished from most of the early missionaries by their endeavours to elevate the standard of the national languages, by using them in the Church service.

At this period also, we hear of the first attempts made by the Servian race towards forming political institutions.

Leaving it to antiquaries to trace the origin and migrations of these people, by combining languages and myths with fragmentary traditions, it may suffice to say, that from the earliest times we find them in the country which they occupy to this day.

In order to take a comprehensive view of ancient Servia, we must survey the country from a central summit of that lofty range of mountains extending from the Alps to the Black Sea; the declivities of which, with the rivers and streams flowing from them, and the valleys they form, constitute the whole Servian territory; between the Danube on one side, and the Adriatic and the Archipelago on the other. The successive heights of these mountain ridges—described in the national songs as variegated woods, where the darkness of the forest is relieved only by white rocks, or by perpetual snows—have ever been in possession of the Servians. They inhabited the country from the banks of the Drina and the Bosna, towards the Save, along the course of both the Moravas, down to the Danube, and southerly, to Upper Macedonia; peopling, likewise, the coasts of the Adriatic sea. For centuries, they lived under the government of their Shupanes and Elders, regardless of the policy of surrounding nations.

At the period alluded to, the Servians did not, like the rest of the Sclavonians, constitute a distinct State, but acknowledged the supremacy of the Eastern Roman Emperor: in fact the country they inhabited had, from ancient times, formed part of the Roman territory; and it still remained

as part of the Eastern Empire when the Western Empire was re-established, at the time of Charlemagne. The Servians, at the same period, embraced the Christian faith; but in so doing they did not subject themselves entirely, either to the Empire or Church of the Greeks.

When they determined on acknowledging the supremacy of Constantinople, they did so only on the condition that they should never be subject to a government proceeding from that capital; whose rule they abhorred, as being extortionate and rapacious. The Emperor, accordingly, permitted the Servians to be ruled by native chiefs, solely of their own election; who preserved a patriarchal form of government.*

The records of Christianity were also given to them in their vernacular language and writing; whether these were derived from the East or from the West. They, likewise, enjoyed the advantage of a liturgy which was intelligible to them; and we find that, early in the tenth century, a considerable number of Sclavonian priests, from all the dioceses, were ordained by the Bishop of Nona, himself a Sclavonian by descent.†

Ever since powers have been established on earth, endeavouring to realize, to represent, and to promote those general ideas which involve the destiny of the human race, it would seem that no nation has been allowed to develop itself by the unrestrained exercise of its own innate strength and genius. The progress of all development depends materially on the relation into which a newly emerging people enters with the nations already in a state of civilization; and in reviewing the history of the various Sclavonian tribes, it is evident that their development was determined by the influence thus exercised upon them.

The Western races—the Moravians, Zechians, Carantaneans, and to some extent, even the Poles—joined themselves to the Western Empire, as renewed among the Germans, and to the Latin Church; taking part in the changing forms of public life which gradually arose.

* Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De Vitâ Basilii; Theophanes continuatus: ed. Bonn, p. 291. *τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκλεγομένους καὶ οἱονεὶ χειροτονουμένους ὡς αἱρετοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πατρικὴμ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διασώζειν ὀφείλοντας εὔνοιαν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν διωρίσατο.*

† Kopitar, Glagolita Clozianus, xiii.

The Eastern tribes associated with the Eastern Church, in the national form prescribed by it; yet much difference was discernible between them.

Russia had become much too powerful through the German immigration, and was also too remote from the centre of the Greek State, for the government at Constantinople to think of making her spiritual dependence the foundation for the secular authority. The Servians, on the contrary, who had settled on the soil of the Greek Empire, and acknowledged its general supremacy, had to strain every nerve against the attempts made by the Greek Emperors to increase their power over them.

In the eleventh century, the Greeks, despite of the stipulations they had entered into, attempted to take Servia under their immediate control, and to subject it to their financial system. In pursuance of this design, a Greek governor was sent into the country. But the proceeding incited a general revolt. A Servian chief, Stephan Boistlaw, who was imprisoned at Constantinople, found means to effect his escape, and return to his native land. He quickly assembled the people around him; and the Greek governor, with his dependents, who are represented to have been, like their master, mercenary and tyrannical, were compelled to leave the country. Boistlaw appears to have taken up a position near the coast; vessels from Byzantium, laden with rich treasures, fell into his hands; and he entered into alliance with the Italian subjects of the Greek Empire, who were at that time endeavouring to obtain their freedom.

At length, in the year 1043, Constantine Monomachus, in order to re-establish the dominion he had lost, sent a numerous army, which attempted to penetrate from the coast into the interior. The Servians encountered them in their mountains, as the Tyrolese and Swiss peasants have so often met their enemies, and the entire Greek army was annihilated in their impassable defiles.

This defeat was decisive. Not only did it put a speedy termination to the encroachment of the Court of Constantinople in imposing a direct government, but it also firmly established the princely power of the Grand Shupanes; whose existence depended on the preservation of the national independence.

The importance of this event was felt on both sides. By the Byzantines, the appearance of a comet is believed to have portended the reverses which they experienced in Servia.* The most ancient Servian history, that by the Presbyter Diocleas, describes this portent with all the embellishments of tradition.†

In the resistance which they had, in after times, to oppose to the Greeks, it was an advantage to the Servians that they were settled on the borders of Western Christendom: from which they derived, if not always open aid, at least a certain degree of support.

The Grand Shupanes eagerly sought to ally themselves in marriage with the princely houses of Western Europe; and the Servian chroniclers always mention such alliances with peculiar satisfaction. The Servians rejoiced in being connected with Venice; whose relations with the Eastern Empire were similar to their own; they also opposed, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of Manuel Comnenus to re-obtain possession of the Western Crown. When Frederic Barbarossa, during his crusade in the year 1189, approached their territory, they manifested an unexpected devotion to his interest; offering to hold Nissa as a fief from him, and to consider themselves,‡ henceforward, as vassals of the German Empire. Not wishing, however, to offend the Greek Emperor, at a moment when the re-conquest of the Holy Land might be hazarded, Frederic declined the offer. The mere proposal even, on the part of the Servians, is, however, worthy of notice. The Servians at times applied for redress not only to the Emperor, but also to the court of Rome, which did not give up its pretensions to the Illyrian dioceses. Pope Gregory VII. was the first who saluted a Grand Shupane as king.

* Glykas considers that this comet betokened *τὰς μελλούσας κοσμικὰς συμφορὰς*; *ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι μετ' οὐ πολὺ στάσις ἐν Σερβία γέγονε* (p. 594, ed. Bonn).

† Schwandtner, iii. 497. Dobroslaw is doubtless one and the same person with Boistlaw. According to Diocleas, all the Greek functionaries were murdered in one day.

‡ Ausbert de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris, p. 32. Pro ipsa terra de manu Imperatoris percipienda hominum et fidelitatem ipsi offerebant ad perpetuam Romani imperii gloriam, nullo quidem timore coacti sed sola ipsius Teutonici regni dilectione invitati.

It might have been expected that the Servian nation, like many of their kindred tribes, would, by degrees, adopt the system of the Western Church. Gregory addressed the Prince already alluded to, not only as "King," but as "Son:" the former title, indeed, would hardly have been thought of without the latter. And we may conclude that all of Gregory's successors have, at one time or other, indulged in the hope that the Servians might gradually be won over. It may be doubted whether political considerations alone induced the Servian princes to evince a leaning towards Rome, or whether they really cherished these opinions; but it is clear that the time was past for the profession of a new faith.

The Servians had been taught Christianity by Greek teachers from Constantinople, at the very time when the schisms of the Latin and Greek Churches first broke forth. From the first, they had imbibed the aversion entertained by the Anatolians towards the formulæ of the Western Church: an aversion which, where it has once taken root, has never been conquered. Nemanja was disposed for a union with the German Empire; but this did not prevent him from strengthening the Greek profession of faith, by the erection of numerous churches and cloisters. His views were not directed towards the Vatican, but to the centre point of the orthodox faith—the forest-cloisters of Mount Athos, which are venerated by all the Eastern tribes. He founded Chilandar, and is renowned as one of the renovators of Vatopædi, where he died as a Greek Kaloier.

But the Latin Church presented not only differences in doctrine, but also another system of life and of government, which depended chiefly on the distinction between the Church and the State. A council which Innocent III. caused to be held, at Dioclea, in 1199, founded one of its decrees expressly on the presumption of a fundamental opposition between the two powers.*

In Servia, affairs assumed a totally different aspect. From his favourite residence, the hermitage of Chilandar, St. Sava, the son of Nemanja, promoted the work of his father; and

* Concilium in Dalmatiæ et Diocleæ regnis. The VIIIth Canon commences "Cum duæ sint potestates a Deo constitutæ." Mansi xxii. 703.

in a truly patriotic spirit. The Patriarch of Constantinople granted the Servians the privilege of always electing their archbishop from their own national priesthood. St. Sava himself was the first archbishop. He took up his residence at Uschitze, the Servian Mecca, and by his spiritual authority, caused the princely power to be revered in the eyes of the nation, in a manner which the Roman Pope would probably never have been able to accomplish. He raised his brother to the throne, and, according to all accounts, with the consent of the Eastern Emperor,—and crowned him in the midst of a vast assemblage of clergy and laity, who, upon that occasion, followed his example in repeating the Creed in its oriental form.

In the Western Empire a deadly conflict was taking place between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers; and a renowned race of intelligent and magnanimous princes were hunted down, like a brood of otters and snakes, by the relentless hatred of the head of the Church; and we find in Servia, also, but too great a similarity of action. Many of the Servian kings, however tyrannical their conduct might have been during their reign, were, after death, honoured as saints; if even at the last they performed some pious act.

It is not necessary here to recount the deeds of these kings:* how they extended their authority towards Hungary, or Bulgaria, or Byzantium, and, at the expense of the Latins, along the coast; it will suffice to notice the position which they occupied in the fourteenth century, when they had acquired a certain degree of power.

Russia had fallen under the dominion of the Mongols; those powerful tribes governed it by viceroys sent from their own distant country. Poland had, under the last Piasts, allied itself more closely to the Western States, in order to obtain protection from a similar subjugation. Bohemia, with all its dependencies, had already become, under the house of Luxemburg, the seat of a certain degree of civilization peculiar to the West; the Servian Krales, on the contrary, the kings of the forest-mountain, remained unconquered, and in proud isolation.

* A complete and authentic history of Servia cannot be expected, until writings, such as Domitian's Life of St. Simeon and St. Sava, and

The attacks of the Mongols—whose force and energy, however, had been lessened by their great distance from their own country—were repelled by the Servians, as completely as by the Sclavonian-Germanic tribes of Silesia, and those on the boundaries of Austria. In Servia, the archbishop, after invoking his sainted predecessors Sava and Arsenius, led the people into the field, and drove back the heathen troops. Such was the form assumed in this country by the war against the infidels, which then occupied the world.

The Latin Empire at Constantinople was powerless to enforce the claims which it had preferred for the possession of Servia. Baldwin II., after having been repulsed, concluded a treaty by which he disposed of both Servia and Albania :* not, however, without danger ; as he thus transferred his rights to the house of Anjou. This family was then endeavouring to assert its right to the crown of Hungary, which it also claimed : but it was not to be expected that this claim would be resolutely maintained, as the Venetians were at all times ready to aid the Servians in resisting it.

The re-established Greek Emperors could no longer hope to extend their dominion over Servia ; and being under the necessity of appeasing the hostility of the Latins by an approximation to the Latin Church ritual, they involuntarily excited the aversion of the bigoted populace of their own country, from whom they with difficulty exacted obedience.

This conflict between the Latins and Greeks, and the divisions that again sprang up in all parts—exciting feuds on the whole line of coast, and in the interior, from the Ionian Sea to the Thracian Bosphorus, and preventing the establishment of any strong or lasting government—gave the Servians an opportunity of acting vigorously on their own behalf. Indignant that the government of Constantinople, unable even to defend itself, should make humiliating demands upon them, they, at the end of the 13th century, assumed the offensive, and took possession of the provinces on the Upper

the Rodoslov of the Archbishop Daniel and his successors, are published; and with a correct text.

* In 1267, according to Buchon, Recherches et Matériaux, i. 33. Ita quod etiam in regnis Albanie et Serbie liceat nobis nostrisque heredibus hujusmodi tertiam partem eligere.

Vardar, which belonged to the ancient Servian tribes. The continued disunions at Constantinople, and the relations in which the Servians stood with the contending parties, rendered it easy for the Servians to make further encroachments; and in the first half of the 14th century, they not only formed the strongest power of the Illyrian triangle, but it appeared probable that they would exert a powerful influence on the politics of Europe.

The natural policy of the Servians was always to act with that party in the Greek Empire which opposed the Court. They at one time allied themselves with the younger Andronicus against the elder, and at another period afforded a place of refuge to Sergianus of Macedonia, and Sphranzes of Bœotia, powerful governors of provinces, who had quarrelled with the younger Andronicus, and who returned strengthened by their support.

In 1341, when John Cantacuzenus assumed the purple, important prospects were opened to the Servians. Cantacuzenus, finding that neither his friends and relations, nor the Latin auxiliary troops whom he had assembled, could uphold his authority, went up the mountains, and prevailed upon Stephan Dushan, the powerful King of the Servians, whom he found in a country palace at Pristina, to join his cause.

Nicephorus Gregoras relates, that these princes entered into an agreement; according to which neither of them was to interfere with the success of the other, and the towns of their common enemies were to be left at liberty to declare in favour of whichever leader they might prefer.* If this be true, it may be assumed that a league of brotherhood was concluded between them, according to the national custom in Servia.

Twenty-four Servian Voivodes (Palatines) accompanied the ambitious and crafty pretender, Cantacuzenus, in his attempt to secure the Greek throne. Between the Servians and Greeks, as is manifested in their early institutions, there existed, on account of their religion, a feeling of mutual connection; and also of common opposition, directed especially against the Latin Empire. And as a great part

* Lib. xiii. Ed. Bonn, ii. p. 656. *μηδέτερον μηδετέρῳ ποτὲ γίνεσθαι κώλυμα πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἠντιναοῦν καὶ συγχωρεῖν ταῖς τῶν Βυζαντίων ὑπηκόοις πόλεσιν ὅτῳ βούλοιντο προσχωρεῖν.*

of the inhabitants of the country were of Sclavonian, if not entirely of Servian origin, there was no feeling of their being degraded when important places, such as Melenik and Edessa, were taken by Cantacuzenus, and made over to the Servian King. Cantacuzenus, however, when he became more powerful, and dared to hope that he should be able to establish his pretensions, could no longer allow this system to proceed. He soon fell into disputes with Stephan Dushan, and did not hesitate to call even infidels—the Osmanli Turks just then rising into power in Asia Minor—to his assistance, in the confident expectation that his adversaries would find no mercy from them.* But it was soon evident, that proceedings so violent and unjust must necessarily turn to the advantage of the King of Servia. The fact that his army was fighting against the infidels endeared him to his people. The Chronicle extols him for his victories over the Agarenes. At the same time, magnanimity and pride prevented him from coming into direct contest with his league-brother; whom none of his Voivodes would have ventured to attack. However, whilst Cantacuzenus was engaged in extending his power in Thracia, Stephan Dushan considered himself entitled to take full possession of Macedonia. Cities which formed the principal objects of their mutual ambition—such as Pherä and Bershöa—fell into his hands. The Byzantines compare him at one time to a fiercely raging fire; at another to a swollen torrent, overflowing far and wide: both wild and irresistible powers.

It was at this period that Stephan Dushan assumed a most commanding position. His rule extended from the original boundaries of Nemanja's dominion, the provinces on the Upper Rashka (which gave to the country the name of Rascia), to the Save. Having received the benediction of his priests, he advanced to repel a formidable invasion of the Hungarians; who, under Louis I., were making great advances; and he succeeded in driving them back. In seems probable, too, that he held possession of Belgrade†—at least

* Cantacuzenus, iii. p. 74. He mentions the belief entertained by these "barbarians," that he would obtain the highest reward hereafter who died in battle against the Christians, or who killed the greatest number of the enemy (iii. 298).'

† Engel, History of Servia, 356.

for a short time. He rescued Bosnia from an obstinate Ban, and gave to it an independent government.

In 1347, Stephan Dushan is found in Ragusa, where he was received with European honours, and was acknowledged as its protector. The Shkypetares in Albania followed his standard; Arta and Joannina were in his possession. From these points, his Voivodes, whose districts may easily be traced, spread themselves over the whole of the Roumelian territory on the Vardar and the Marizza, as far as Bulgaria, which he also regarded as a province of his kingdom. Being in the possession of so extensive a dominion, he now ventured to assume a title which was still in dispute between the Eastern and Western Empires, and could not rightly be claimed by either. As a Servian Krale, he could neither ask nor expect the obedience of the Greeks: therefore he called himself Emperor of the Roumelians—the Macedonian Christ-loving Czar—and began to wear the tiara. On his coins he was represented holding in his hand a globe, surmounted by a cross.* It was in the orthodox Greek Empire, if anywhere, that spiritual and secular obedience existed together; in idea they were almost inseparable, although the spiritual principle had an independent representation (the priesthood). The possession of imperial power, and the acknowledgment of a foreign patriarch, would have been an anomaly; but this also was arranged without much difficulty: at a synod at Pherä, the assembled clergy of Dushan's empire elected as their Chief a patriarch of their own.

It was the natural tendency of the Servian nation to preserve itself independent, in the conflict of the Eastern and Western divisions of Christendom—being politically opposed to the one, and ecclesiastically to the other—and it was at this juncture that it really achieved that independence.

The Roman party erred greatly when they ascribed to Dushan any inclination towards the Western Church. By the laws which he enacted, whoever endeavoured to pervert any one "to the Latin heresy" was condemned to work in the mines. An ancient tradition represents him on the festival of the Archangel Michael, as asking his Voivodes to which side they were desirous that he should lead them—

* Zanetti, De Nummis Regum Mysiæ, p. 26.

towards Greece, or towards Alemannia. "Wherever thou leadest us, most glorious Czar," was their reply, "we will follow thee." This is quite in accordance with his character. Not that it could ever have been really his intention to turn his arms against countries under German protection; but the anecdote displays his possession of that confidence which usually accompanies self-acquired independence.

The question may here occur, whether such a demeanour, howsoever proud and glorious it might appear, was not prejudicial to the development of civilisation? A people unceasingly offering opposition to more advanced nations, for the purpose of maintaining its own freedom, cannot be influenced by those impressions which would, otherwise, be much to its advantage.

Servia, however, was not excluded from intercourse with the countries of the West. The mines she possessed, and the wealth they afforded, attracted merchants from Ragusa, who formed settlements at Novobrdo, Kladovo, and Smederevo, and uninterrupted intercourse was maintained with the coast of Dalmatia, then enjoying the benefits of Italian civilization.*

The Kings of Servia had sufficient wealth to take into their service, in these times of the Condottieri, sometimes Italian, sometimes French (who were called "Celts" by the Greeks), and sometimes German troops; and it was probably through their assistance that the Servian monarchs were enabled to attain a superiority in those countries. About the year 1355, we observe a German among the grandees of the empire, as commander-in-chief under King Dushan.

In Servia, as throughout the West, castles and fortresses were raised on the almost inaccessible tops of mountains: in defiles, were rivers intersect the hills, and in the middle of lakes. Near Ipek there is yet standing a church of white marble, erected, in all the splendour of the age, to the memory of Dushan's father, by an architect of Cattaro.† Many other churches and cloisters, founded through the munificence of her kings, arose under the hands of native architects. With

* Appendini ("Notizie sulle Antichità, etc. di Ragusa," i. p. 229) connects with this circumstance, the fact that the most beautiful architectural structures in Ragusa were erected at the period of this intercourse.

† Ami Boué, La Turquie d'Europe, iii. 464.

the increase of church-books and church-laws, the dawn of Servian literature was closely connected. There exists a digest of the laws of Dushan, which, it must be regretted, is still but imperfectly known.* It proves, however, that there was established in Servia, an Assembly—composed of clergy and laity, under the presidentship of the Czar and the Patriarch—which exercised the legislative power; that it was the province of this Assembly to secure the possessions of the landholders, both great and small, from the encroachments of the supreme power, and, on the other hand, to protect the peasants from the arbitrary exactions of the landowners. In all directions we perceive the state of violence and rapine to which both the country and people were still subject, as historical facts but too clearly prove; but, at the same time, we may observe a strenuous effort on the part of the nation to extricate itself from these evils.

Servia was in that state which constitutes one of the most important epochs in the existence of every nation—a state of transition from patriarchial traditions of the darkest origin, handed down from a remoter period, and fettered by local prejudices—to a legalized order of things, founded on spiritual knowledge, and corresponding with the general development of the human race. This change was effected, not indeed without imitating foreign precedents and forms, but still very much in accordance with the primitive ideas of the people. Of all the Sclavonian systems of laws, that of Servia, according to the opinion of those best qualified to judge, is the most national.†

But the question naturally arises, to what results will this lead? Will the Servian people really assume a station amongst the European nations? This seemed to depend less on their own capacity for development, than on their relations with another power; which was increasing wonderfully in strength, and was rapidly advancing towards the South of Europe.

* Schaffarik, in the Vienna Year-Book, liii. Advertisement sheet, p. 38.

† Maciejowski, Sclawische Rechtsgeschichte, vol. i. part ii. sect. v.

CHAPTER II.

FALL OF SERVIAN LIBERTY.

Influence of the Roman Empire in the Fourteenth Century.—Death of Stephan Dushan.—Consequent Dissensions.—Encroachments of the Turks.—Battle of Kossova.—Subjugation of the Servian State.—The Fifteenth Century.—Signal Defeat of the Servians near Varna, in 1444. —Spread of the Patarene Sect.—Surrender of Bosnian Fortresses to the Turks.—State of Servia in the Sixteenth Century.—Exaction of the Tribute of Boys.—The Peace of Passarovitz.—Orseni Czernovich. —Fate of Montenegro.—Insurrection of the Servians in 1737.—The Impostor Peter III.—Complete Subjugation of the Servians.

From whatever point we seek to investigate the development of later centuries, we are almost invariably led back to the Roman Empire; which forms, as it were, a central point for history in general; inasmuch as it subdued the ancient world, and was vanquished by the modern.

In the reign of the Emperor Heraclius—under whom, according to historical tradition, the admission of the Sclavonians into the countries on the Danube took place—the Asiatic provinces of the Byzantine Roman Empire were first overrun by the Arabs, and adopted that form of belief which wrested half the world from the Christian faith. Fortunate, indeed, it was, that Constantinople did not earlier succumb to the attacks of the Arabs. At this period, however, the Mahometans had in Asia Minor, in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, a stronger military force than they had ever assembled there before. Introduced by Cantacuzenus himself, the Osmanlis gradually penetrated into the interior of Thrace; where they, in the year 1357, acquired an independent footing; and at Galipolis, even at the present day, the fields retain the names of the first Turks, who, assailing the professors of Christian faith with all the violence of Mahometan fanaticism, met there what they considered to be the death of martyrs.

At that time the Servian State was powerful in war, and victorious in every quarter. Hitherto the feeble government to which the title and succession of the Roman Empire had

descended, had only thought of opposing one division by the aid of the other: now it was necessary that all should unite in direct conflict against a common enemy.

It became imperative on the Servians to resist the Osmanlis to the utmost: they must either repel the enemy or expect their own destruction. But it so happened, that at the moment when this was to be attempted, the mighty ruler of the Servians, Stephan Dushan, died, before he had completed the empire of which he had laid the foundation, and ere he had strengthened his power by the bulwark of national institutions.

The difference between the Servian and the Turkish States consisted principally in the fact, that the Osmanlis exhibited a stricter unity, a more compactly-knit fellowship, being all servants of one master; whilst in Servia, on the contrary, the Voivodes had retained, according to the Western system, a certain share of political power.

It was by the Voivodes that Stephen Dushan had, perhaps against his wish, been placed on the throne before his plans were matured. In all his measures, even those of a political character, they had taken a decisive share. He had succeeded in repressing the outbreaks of disobedience which sometimes occurred; but, after his death, disputes arose in his family, between his widow, his son, and his brother, which overthrew the supreme authority; and the Voivodes availed themselves of the opportunity to cast off all allegiance.

Not long before this period, the Bosnian nobles had also projected the formation of an aristocratic republic. Contests in matters of inheritance, and, connected with these, the emancipation of powerful classes, at that time formed the topics of political consideration in Europe; whilst those institutions of the Ottoman Empire, which bore the strongest stamp of barbarism—the maintenance of a harem, and the murder of the brothers of the Sultan—had the effect of preventing disturbances and embarrassments of this sort amongst the Turks. It did not, therefore, long remain doubtful which of the two parties would prove victorious in the contest.

The Turkish annals contain accounts of battles not mentioned in those of the Western countries: the Servian

chronicles speak of others that are not recorded by the Turks; on both sides victories are spoken of as defeats, and defeats as victories. But howsoever imperfect our knowledge of the various occurrences of this war, their result was, that the son of Stephen Dushan lost the Roumelian districts acquired by his predecessors: his chief vassals submitting to the Turks. Nor could the ancient Servian countries any longer resist. A few important events decided their now inevitable fate.

The Turkish system of occupying conquered countries with military colonies, and, carrying off the original inhabitants, excited a great national opposition in the year 1389.

On the mountain heights, crowned by the chief seat of the Servian Empire—on the field of Kossova—the Servians, the Bosnians (who after Dushan's death had regained their independence), and the Albanians, once more stood united against the Osmanlis. But the Turks were stronger than all these nations combined; although the particulars of the battle are obscured by national pride and the vagueness of tradition, the result is certain: from that day the Servians became subject to the Turkish power.

The Sultan of the Osmanlis and the Servian Krale were both slain in the conflict. But their successors, Bajazet, and Stephan Lasarevitsch, entered into an agreement which formally established the inferior position of the Servians. Lasarevitsch gave his sister in marriage to the Sultan, and undertook to render him military service in all his campaigns;* and throughout his life he honourably performed his portion of the compact. In the great battles of Nicopolis and Ancyra, in which the Ottoman Empire was in jeopardy, Lazarevitsch fought by the side of his brother-in-law. He was, apparently, bound to this house by an oath; and he exerted himself with the zeal of a kinsman in the adjustment of quarrels that on one occasion broke out in the Osmanli family. But, in so doing, he only confirmed the subjugation of his own nation. During the lifetime of Lazarevitsch, affairs went on tolerably well; but, after his death, the Osmanlis hastened to lay claim to Servia; on the

* As the translation of Dukas, which is rather free, expresses it: "Volse che Stephano sotto 'l suo imperio esercitasse la militia, ed in qualunque loco fosse l'imperatore, se trovasse la sua persona."

ground that they inherited the land through their relationship with the Servian Krale. The contest on the subject of religion, which had never been adjusted, although hitherto little had been said on the subject, was soon renewed. The Turks affirmed that they could not permit a Christian prince to retain possession of such rich mines and strong forts, lest he should at some future time use them to impede the progress of the Mahometan faith; and they excited their rapacity with the spur of religion.

About the year 1438 we find a mosque erected at Kruschevatz, and Turkish garrisons placed in the fortresses of Golubaz and Smederevo on the Danube, and in Novobrdo, the most ancient of the Servian towns, in the immediate vicinity of the richest mines. In the meantime Bosnia was overrun from Scupi; and from Argyrocastron and Croia, the Turks soon extended their dominion over the southern and northern parts of Albania.

Matters had advanced so far, that deliverance could be hoped for only through foreign aid; and now, indeed, only through the assistance of the Western Empire.

Could the nations of the Latin Church, who were themselves already attacked by the Turks in Hungary, and threatened in Italy, any longer hesitate to rise against them?

The Latins still maintained an undoubted superiority on the sea; and in Eastern Europe, where the Jagellones had united Lithuania and Poland, and given a king to Hungary, a powerful land force was organised, which appeared well qualified to make head against the Ottomans. The Servian and Bosnian princes delayed not a moment in joining this force.

The alliance thus cemented, appeared formidable. It was principally brought about by the exertions of the Servian prince, George Brankovitch; who, throughout all his misfortunes, had sustained the character of a wise and brave man, and who did not now spare the treasures which he had collected in better days. So successful and decisive were the results of this alliance, (especially in the long campaign in which John Hunyad celebrated Christmas on the conquered snow plains of the Hæmus,) that the Turks felt the insecurity of their tenure; and in the peace of Szegedin (July, 1444), actually restored the whole of Servia.*

* Œneas Sylvius, "De Statu Europæ," cap. iv. Consternati ac perculsi metu, perinde ac totus oriens conjurasset, pacem petiere.

Had the Western potentates supported the inferior powers that still held their ground in this quarter—one of which was the Empire of Constantinople—and had they at the same time occupied the attention of the Sultan, and endangered his forces by sea, it is reasonable to suppose that the country might have patiently awaited the opportunity for a general restoration.

In Italy, however, the people were anxious to free themselves, at once and decisively, from the dangers of a Turkish invasion, by a renewed effort of the already victorious Eastern powers. The Pope of Rome interposed his authority, as head of the Church, to annul the treaty that had been concluded between these parties. Some, possessing a better feeling, were against this proceeding; but the legate of the Roman Church left no means untried to execute the commands of his master; and, although unable to persuade the Servians—who attached no value to the Pope's dispensation—he hurried on the Hungarians and Poles to a new enterprise.*

It would have been of the greatest importance had a sea-force, which was observed in the Hellespont, prevented the Sultan's leaving Asia, whither he had gone; but, whether from negligence, cowardice, or treason, he was allowed to return unmolested.†

Thus it happened that the Hungarian and Polish troops were unexpectedly attacked by a superior force, in an unfavourable position, near Varna. The enemy's cavalry appeared to rush down upon them, as though on wings; and the infantry, collected round the Sultan, seemed invincible. The Christians were utterly defeated (November, 1444).

Never, perhaps, through long succeeding centuries, had a battle been fought with more disastrous results. Even to the present day these nations are subject to the rule which was imposed on them in consequence of that defeat.

The Principalities in Greece and Albania, including the Empire of Constantinople, were, one after the other, overpowered. Their resistance could scarcely have arrested the

* Ibid. [Papa] novum instaurari bellum cum precibus tum minis extorsit.

† Dukas: "Come la bona fortuno de Morat volse, trovò spatio libero da la galie appresso lo stomio."

impending ruin. Nor had the Sclavonian Kingdoms fared better. By a mournful fatality, their downfall was accomplished through dissensions of the Church parties.

A Servian song relates that George Brankovitsch once inquired of John Hunyad, what he intended to do with regard to religion, should he prove victorious. Hunyad did not deny that, in such an event, he should make the country Roman Catholic. Brankovitsch thereupon addressed the same question to the Sultan; who answered, that he would build a church near every mosque, and would leave the people at liberty to bow in the mosques, or to cross themselves in the churches, according to their respective creeds. The general opinion was that it was better to submit to the Turks, and retain their ancient faith, than to accept the Latin rites.* Brankovitsch, who, even when he was ninety years old, was urged to adopt the Western creed, steadfastly refused; and when, after his death, the females of his family went over to the Latin Church, their ruin was only hastened thereby. The last princess, Helena Palæologa, offered her country as a fief to the See of Rome; an act which excited a rebellion of her subjects. The Servians themselves invited the Osmanlis into their fortresses, that they might not see their strongholds given over to a cardinal of the Romish Church. The King of Bosnia, whose intention it was to marry a Servian princess, and to unite both countries under the protection of the Pope, also made a declaration of fealty; and with the same result. The Patarene sect, which prevailed throughout Bosnia, and had been for centuries attached to Rome, against which a crusade had been repeatedly planned, was also in favour of Turkish rather than of Roman domination.† At the next attack of the Turks, that sect no longer offered any defence: within *eight* days, *seventy* Bosnian fortresses opened their gates to the Turks, and the King himself fell into the enemy's power.

* The Emperor Frederic, in the deed by which he exempts the Counts of Cilley from performing feudal service to the Empire (13th August, 1443), states, as his reason, that they "gen den Bosnern Turken und andern Ungläubigen, die die Christenheit an denselben Orten täglich und schwerlich anfechten, grosz zu schaffen,"—the Bosnians, Turks, and other infidels.

† Schimek: Geschichte von Bosnien, 145, 147.

It is possible that such events might have been prevented, if these countries had, at an earlier period, adopted the system of the Western States: but affairs must have been very differently conducted. Hungary, which from the first belonged to the Western Empire, was soon after conquered by the Turks.

The Servians and Bosnians, who preferred submitting to the Turks, had no presentiment of what they were doing, nor of the fate that awaited them under the new rule.

On the pretext that there was no necessity for keeping faith with an infidel, the last Prince of the Bosnians, whose life had been guaranteed to him, was, in violation of this promise, murdered by the hand of the fanatical Sheik by whom this doctrine was promulgated.*

The chief nobles of the country, whom the Turks began to annihilate as they had already annihilated the royal house, soon perceived that their only safety lay in embracing Mahometanism. The last princess had fled to Rome, and at her death had, by will, made over to the Pope her right to the country. The Pontiff, touching the sword and shoe which were delivered to him, as tokens of the bequest, accepted it, on the ground that her children, a son and a daughter, having embraced Islamism, had, thereby, become incapable of succeeding her. Urged by the example of the Princess—by the danger of refusal on one hand, and on the other by the prospect of a share in public affairs, if they complied,—the most illustrious families were by degrees induced to turn Mahometans. Thus they retained an hereditary right to their castles; and, so long as they remained united, enjoyed much influence in the province. Sometimes a native Vizier was allowed them. By this means, however, they separated themselves from their people, who, in defiance of every inducement, remained true to their old faith; and, being excluded from holding any office in the State, and from carrying arms, they in common with all the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire, became Rayahs.

In Herzegovina, this state of affairs was in some degree ameliorated, by the fact that certain Christian chiefs maintained their ground through the aid of an armed population.

* Neschri, in Hammer's Geschichte der Osmanen, ii. 552.

From time to time they thus obtained, by *Berates* from the Porte, a legal acknowledgment of their rights, which the Pachas were compelled to respect.

In Servia Proper—on the Morava, the Kolubara, and the Danube—the old system, on the contrary, was upheld in all its severity. The army of the Grand Signior almost every year traversed this country to the seat of war on the Hungarian frontier; consequently independence could not be preserved. It appears, indeed, that the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Belgrade were summoned to Constantinople, to render feudal service during the hay-harvest in the Sultan's meadows. The country was divided among the Spahis, at whose disposal the inhabitants were bound, by the strictest enactments, to place both their persons and their property. The Servians were not allowed to carry any weapons; and, in the disturbances which broke out, we find them armed only with long staves. They would not keep horses lest they should be robbed of them by the Turks. A traveller of the 16th century describes the people as poor captives, none of whom dared to lift up his head. Every five years the tribute of youths was collected: a severe and cruel exaction, which carried off the bloom and hope of the nation into the immediate service of the Grand Signior, and thus turned their own native strength against themselves. But a change was gradually working in the destiny of nations; the alliance of Hungary with Austria, and, consequently, with the empire and military forces of the Germans, checked the advances of the Osmanlis, and at length effected the deliverance of Hungary from the Turks. Religious dissensions had divided the nation; but at the same time they had developed the power and spirit of the people, who zealously seconded the active interference of the Protestant princes. By these events, a great part of the Servian nation, which had previously emigrated within the boundaries of ancient Hungary, was directly set free from the power of the Osmanlis; and the prospect of liberation was joyfully beheld by the rest of the kindred tribes on the other side of the Save. They proffered the assistance of their nation to the Emperor Leopold; and how largely they contributed to the success of the imperial arms is well known. At the peace of Passarovitz, an extensive portion of Servia

remained in the hands of the Emperor, who did not fail to encourage the culture of the soil by exonerating the peasants from the obligation of serving in the army, and by promoting German colonization.

It is not our province to explain how it happened that these reforms not only did not advance, but even retrograded; so that, after the lapse of twenty years, the conquered Servian districts had to be given back again to the Turks. Every one knows that this was owing more to the complication of European politics, than to any increase of the Turkish power. But we may remark that this new catastrophe rendered the condition of the Christian population in those parts far worse than it had been. Not only was vengeance for their revolt taken on those serfs who had not emigrated, but large tracts of land were transferred to other proprietors. Yet the chief and deepest injury was inflicted in the ecclesiastical constitution. Hitherto, whilst under the dominion of the Turks, the Servian patriarchate, with the Servian bishoprics, had been preserved. This gave the nation, so far at least as regarded the Church, a certain share of political power, and procured for the Rayahs a representation opposed to the power of the Grand Signior; nor was this at all to be despised.

In itself it was a politic plan of the Emperor Leopold to gain over to himself this powerful ecclesiastical authority, and to take it under his imperial protection; by which arrangement the entire Illyrian nation stood towards the Emperor in the relation of protected States. It was on this ground that they rose so promptly, in the year 1689, in support of the Emperor; their patriarch, Arseni Czernovich, leading them on by his example. He, with some thousands of the people, all bearing the insignia of the cross, joined the imperial camp.* Now, therefore, would have been the time to carry their projects into execution to their full extent.

But Arseni Czernovich found himself, from the course of affairs, compelled to retire from the ancient archiepiscopal seat, and to migrate into Austria; which he did as a great

* The Commander at Canischa was told that the Germans would not rest satisfied until "the two Seas, the Black and the White," formed the boundaries of their Empire.—Neu eröffnete Ottomanische Pforte. Fortsetzung, p. 527.

national chief. Thirty-seven thousand families accompanied him, and settled in the Hungarian territory, where the Emperor, by important privileges, secured to them their religious independence.

Nor can we wonder that the Turks would not suffer an ecclesiastical ruler, so openly hostile to them as Czernovich, to exercise any influence in their dominions. They at once endeavoured to render all intercourse with him impracticable, and themselves appointed a Servian patriarch at Ipek.

What intestine commotions this produced may be gathered from an event which decided the fate of Montenegro. The Metropolitan of Montenegro, Daniel (of the house of Petrovich, and the tribe of Niegushi) who had been ordained by the emigrant patriarch, Arseni Czernovich, had no sooner ventured to leave his own district than he was taken prisoner by the Turks, and was liberated only on paying a heavy ransom. Islamism, under the patronage of the government, had already made its way into Montenegro; and Daniel, that at all events he might be free from it in his own diocese, prevailed upon the Christians of that territory to rid themselves, by violence, of their Mahometan brethren.

Accordingly, all who did not turn Christians, or secure their safety by flight, were, on an appointed day, suddenly seized and put to death. The fact cannot be disguised, that by no other means could the Greek Christian faith have been there maintained unmolested. The Bishop, who had ever possessed the right of nominating his successor during his lifetime (as in that country the dignity of Priests and Archpriests was hereditary), became from that time the head of his nation.

The national Priesthood constituted an important means of resistance.

On the advance of the Austrians in 1737,* the Albanians and Servians once more rose in great numbers—their force amounting, it is said, to 20,000; but they were met by the

* In the Life of General Seckendorf, which is founded on good authorities, we are told (ii. 107) that the Patriarch of Ipek and the Archbishop of Ochrida had at that time expressed a wish to be made secular *lords* also of their dioceses, and to be allowed a seat and vote in the German Diet.

Turks, near the Kolubara, and their entire host slaughtered.

But it afterwards appeared that causes existed, independently of these wars, to produce an entire national defection from the ecclesiastical rule.

An impostor, assuming to be Peter III, succeeded in gaining credit to his pretensions in Montenegro; and his authority soon extended far into the Turkish dominions. He was acknowledged by several bishops; and the then Patriarch of the Servian Church at Ipek sent him a valuable horse as a gift of honour. Upon this the Viziers of Bosnia and Roumelia took the field against him, and succeeded in restricting his authority to Montenegro; whither the Patriarch of Ipek was himself compelled to flee for safety.

These events determined the Porte not to permit the election of another Servian Patriarch. The dignity was united with that of the Patriarch at Constantinople, over which the Porte exercised undisputed power.* Greek Bishops were in consequence placed over the Servian Church.

This proved a heavy blow for the nation. With the independence of the Church, the people were deprived of their last remaining share in the conduct of public affairs; that share which had been in some measure instrumental in advancing civilization. They now for the first time found themselves wholly subject to the Turkish Government at Constantinople.

* In the Berate for the Patriarch at Constantinople, quoted by Muradgea d'Ohsson (Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman, v. p. 120), the Hattischeriff is mentioned by which this was done. The Patriarch took upon himself the annual tribute of 63,000 aspers, which Ipek had hitherto paid.

CHAPTER III.

OUTLINES OF THE TURKISH INSTITUTIONS IN SERVIA.

Conflict between Islamism and Christianity.—Their Difference considered Politically.—The Janissaries.—State of the Rayahs or Native Inhabitants.—Turkish Imposts.—The Spahis.—State of Affairs at the Close of the Eighteenth Century.—Commercial Character of the Patriarchate at Constantinople.—The Chimney Tax in Servia.—Turkish Dissensions. Servian Heyducs or Robbers.—Christians excluded from all Public Offices.—Oppression and Degradation of the Servians.—Preservation of the National Spirit.

To write a history of different religions would be not only to exhibit doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and hierarchical institutions, but also to unfold the political influence which they have exercised over various nations.

For many centuries Islamism and Christianity have been in conflict, developing themselves in opposition to each other. What, then, is politically the principal distinction of the institutions which have arisen under their influences?

In the course which affairs have taken in Western Christendom, much may be censured and objected to; but it cannot be denied that the Church has, throughout, contributed greatly to the formation of national character.

For instance, with all the various elements of which the population of ancient Gaul was composed—with the numerous immigrations and conquests to which that country was subjected during the middle ages—how could the foundation of so invincible a national unity as that of France have been consolidated, except through the influence of the Christian Church?

Coincident with the concentrating power of the Priesthood, is opposition to its ascendancy; influences from without are met by free impulses from within; and the habit of obedience is counteracted by a spirit of resistance. But the national character thus developed, being once firmly established, could not be destroyed by any difference of opinion based upon other than national feelings.

But it was otherwise in the East.

As it occurred under the Caliphs, and under the Mongolian sway in India, so in the vast territories which were under the Turkish rule, we find everywhere an antagonism between the "faithful," whose religion gave them the claim to dominion, and the "infidels," who were condemned to servitude on account of their religion.

Islamism strengthens the pretensions of the ruling military powers, by inculcating the belief that they exclusively enjoy the true religion. Events have, however, proved to the Turks that they cannot exist without the aid of a subject infidel nation. With all his zeal, the Turk is in general content with resting on this text of the Koran: "Thou wilt not find out any means of enlightening him whom God delivers over to error." If, as it has been affirmed, a Sultan once entertained the thought of extirpating his Christian subjects, he must have been deterred from the act, by reflecting that their services were indispensable to him. From this opposition of belief and unbelief proceeds the whole political system of the Turkish Empire. The two principles of its foundation will always be antagonistic to each other. No hope of forming a united nation can consequently be entertained.

We need not inquire, further, how this uncongeniality is connected with the opposite principles of the two religions: Christianity is, in its very essence, of a popular nature; and when diffusing its doctrines over heathen nations, first gained ground amongst the people; whilst Islamism, from its very commencement, was promulgated by the sword. Nor need we inquire how this antagonism is connected with the primitive truth of the one faith—at times unseen, but always penetrating—and the falsehood of the other: enough that it is so, and that this difference marks the distinctive character of the two systems.

Christianity endeavours to convert nations; Islamism to conquer the world: "The earth is the Lord's, and he bestows it on whom he chooses."

What in the ancient Roman Empire appears to be a judicial hypothesis—namely, that the actual property in land belongs either to the State or the Emperor, and only its occupation and use to the individual,—is, in the Ottoman Empire, a positive reality: grounded on the religious belief

that "all the land belongs to the Caliph, the Shadow and Vicegerent of God on earth."* When he fulfilled the will of God and of the Prophet, in spreading the pure faith, he distributed the lands which he conquered amongst the armies of the "Faithful," who had assisted him in his enterprises: to some, indeed, to hold in hereditary possession, but to the greater part as their pay, in the form of a fief.

Whatever changes may have been effected in more peaceful times, the principle of this arrangement remained in force, as it was fixed from the first. The entire extent of the Ottoman Empire was, in the eighteenth century, as well as in the sixteenth century, parcelled out amongst the Timarlis and Spahis; of whom there are said to have been 132,000.†

The band of Janissaries, computed to consist of 150,000 registered members—although it was really composed of a much smaller number in actual service—formed a large community, binding together all the provinces of the Empire. The *Ortas* of the division Dshemaat, always enjoyed the honour of attending on the Pachas in the fortresses, the keys of which were entrusted to their care.

To support and to serve the army of the Faithful who had settled in the country—a warrior-caste, whose privileges resulted from their religion—was, in Servia, as in all the other provinces of Turkey, the lot of the Rayahs. They were compelled to till the land, and to pay the taxes. We will now consider what these taxes were.

The subject, who, in the event of proving refractory, would be doomed to death or imprisonment, pays poll-money to the Sultan, according to the ordinances of the Koran: "Oppress them," it is said therein, concerning the Infidels, "until they pay poll-tax and are humbled." To this verse of the Koran, the Turkish Sultans have always appealed, when at any time they, like Achmet II., have found themselves under the necessity of enacting new laws regarding taxation.‡ Every male, from seven years of age, is obliged to pay the poll-tax

* Gaius: in eo solo [provinciarum] dominium populi Romani est vel Cæsaris: nos autem possessionem tantum et usumfructum habere videmur.

† Eton (Survey of the Turkish Empire, 1798) mentions this number "from the concordant testimony of several persons who had the most intimate acquaintance with it."

‡ Rescript of Ahmed II. given in Hammer's Staatsverfassung, i. 332.

to the end of his days. The *teskeres*, or stamped receipts, which are sent from Constantinople, serve at once as proofs of acknowledged submission, as certificates for protection, and as passports for those by whom they are received.

In the Servian territories there were still some districts remaining under Christian *Kneses*, or princes; for instance, the *Kraina*, which was under the hereditary dominion of the Karapandshitsch, who enjoyed princely authority. And although it may not be true that they possessed the privilege of forbidding any shod horse belonging to the Turks to set foot on their domain, they had the right of refusing to allow a Spahi or a native Turk to settle on their land. They paid their customary tribute to a *Beg*, who resided in Kladovo. The Rashkovitsches for some time kept possession of Stariwla on similar conditions. Kliutsch was governed by elective Kneses. In the Pachalic of Belgrade, however, which by way of pre-eminence was called Serfvijaleti, the Spahis were regarded as the proprietors of the villages.

The Spahis had one advantage which they did not possess in former times: their rights had, by degrees, become hereditary. These rights were, consequently, more rigidly fixed than formerly. They received a tithe of all that the field, vineyard, or bee-hive produced; and also a small tax on each head of cattle. Moreover, they had a right to demand for themselves a tax, called Glavnitza, of two piastres, from every married couple. To avoid unpleasant inquiries into the extent of their income, many persons added a portion of the tithe to the Glavnitza. In some parts of the country the people agreed to pay the Spahis for each married couple, whether rich or poor, ten piastres a-year in full of all dues. This was at once accepted, as it enabled the Spahis to ascertain the amount on which they might annually reckon.

But the Spahis cannot properly be considered as a class of nobles. In the villages they had neither estates nor dwellings of their own; they had no right to jurisdiction or to feudal service; they were not allowed to eject the tenantry by force, nor could they even forbid them from removing and settling elsewhere. What they had to demand was what might be termed an hereditary stipend, in return for which the duty of serving in war remained unaltered. No real rights of property were ever bestowed on them;

but, for a specific service a certain revenue was granted them.

The Grand Signior reserved for himself a number of villages. In addition to this, the Pacha had to be provided for; and the administration of the Pachalic also rendered several branches of revenue necessary.

Feudal services, in general, were very burthensome, particularly at first; when it appears that the peasants of every village in Servia had to render bond service to the Pacha one hundred days in each year; and in Constantinople a register was kept of all the houses in the Empire liable to such service. But nothing more is heard of exactions so oppressive, as we approach the close of the eighteenth century: even a produce-tax on corn, which the Pacha had formerly been accustomed to collect about Christmas, had fallen into desuetude. On the other hand, however, he required annually a sum of money from the country. The amount was generally regulated by custom; but it could be increased according to circumstances. After consultation with the Kneses, the tax was imposed proportionably on the respective districts, and also on the villages and households in the districts.* No register of landed property was in use; the circumstances of the occupiers, as they happened to be generally and personally known, being taken as the criterion by which they were rated.

Of this revenue, a portion was sent to Constantinople; but it served chiefly to supply the wants of the province: such as the pay of the Janissaries, &c. The Janissaries, however, since a share of the duties on imports had been assigned to them, had devoted† themselves to trade, and had become the richest and most influential class in the country. The Grand Signior was considered not only as the chief in war, but as the Caliph of the Prophet, the administrator of the Koran, in which religion and law are blended. When, in 1784, he was obliged to renounce the temporal dominion of the Crimea, he yet reserved for himself the spiritual authority, and continued to send Mollas and Kadis thither to exercise

* Hence its name, from the word *poresati*, to cut into tallies, to apportion.—Vide Wuk's Servian Dictionary (Serbisches Wörterbuch), p. 607.

† Porter (*Observations sur les Turcs*, French translation, ii. 127), ascribes these privileges and this alteration to Mahmoud I.

it. A Mollah of the second rank resided in Belgrade to officiate for Servia. In smaller towns there were Kadis who dispensed justice to Mussulmans as well as to Christians, to whom the Kadis had chiefly to look for their income; which consisted of the revenue accruing to them, in their judicial capacity, from grants of administration on the death of heads of families, and of the dues on commerce; increased by the fees arising from actions brought before them. It is, therefore, obvious that disturbances must have been welcome to them. With the Kadi was associated a Mussulman officer, appointed by the Pacha, to execute his judgments; and who, having the executive power, obtained greater consideration than the peaceful judge.

The religious affairs of the Christians were administered by their Bishop; but he also, since the Bishopric had passed to the Greeks, had a closer relation to the State authorities than to his flock. Even in his external appearance he adopted the Turkish style: he might be seen riding in sumptuous apparel, equipped with the insignia of power granted him by the berate of the Grand Signior—the sword and the *busdowan*.

But what gave importance to his office was its pecuniary value.

The Patriarchate at Constantinople—the Holy Church—forms a commercial institution or bank, in which capitalists are well disposed to invest their money; and its means are used to provide the different tributes to the Porte, regular or irregular, and the large presents with which it is customary to purchase the favour of members of the government. The interest is raised from various sources of revenue; but chiefly from contributions by the Bishops. Every Bishop, when first appointed, must acknowledge himself a debtor to a certain sum, which is regulated according to the revenues of his diocese, and must give bond for the exact payment of the interest on this sum.* These bonds, called court-bonds, pass from hand to hand as a sort of public stock, and are in much estimation; since the representative of the Patriarch or

* Zalloni, Essai sur les Fanariotes, p. 158: "Des obligations qui supportent l'intérêt des dix pour cent par an, et qu'on désigne sous le nom des Avlikies Omoloyes.—See Maurer: 'Das Griechische Volk,'" i. 398.

Bishop, in whose name they are drawn, dares not be backward in his payment of the interest.

It would not be advisable for the Bishops to pay off the capital for which they have acknowledged themselves indebted, as by that means they would bring the administration of the Holy Church into embarrassment. After their death, the Church is responsible for the amount.

As the Bishops were under the necessity of expending considerable sums to maintain their rank and dignity amongst the nobility, their administration, oppressive even to the Greek Rayahs, became much more so to the Servians, by whom they were regarded as strangers.

They not only made the priests whom they ordained, pay purchase-money—for which they were referred to the parish-income; but, in Servia, they also raised a peculiar tax called Dimnitza, or chimney-tax, from every household. This impost was levied by virtue of a firman, which authorised its collection by armed officials, and enforced it in preference to any opposing claim of the landlords. It is known also, that, in appointments to vacant Pachalics, money constituted for a long time the chief consideration; and that wealthy Fanariotes, or Armenian bankers, on giving security for the payment of the sums of money to be raised in the respective districts for the Porte, exercised the greatest influence in the nomination of the Pachas; and then, by means of secretaries whom they assigned to them, controlled their administration. From Sheik El Islam they bought patents for Kadis by hundreds, and sold them at a large profit to such candidates as had passed the juridical school and obtained the required degree. The distinction in episcopal offices consisted chiefly in this: that the Fanariotes could introduce their own brethren in faith.

These three offices, of Pacha, Kadi, and Bishop, in which the administration of judicial and ecclesiastical authority was vested, might all be obtained for money; and their holders indemnified themselves against loss by exercising the power which they had over the people: the revenue of the Spahis also constituted their pay for specific services. Thus the country and the people may, in the language of political economy, be considered in the light of capital, the interest of which, taken at the highest rate, belonged to the govern-

ment; who assigned it to some parties as pay for the protection of the country, but to others as rents farmed out of them.

The Rayahs, excluded from all share in the conduct of public affairs, appeared only as persons to be ruled over; as the means wherewith to realise a revenue for the support of the very State which had subjugated them, and of providing for its soldiery, its officers, and even for the Court: it was impossible, however, always to carry this arrangement of affairs fully into effect.

The Ottomans are often found in dissension one with another. The Spahis, living constantly in the country, had an interest distinct from that of the Pachas, who resided there only for a short time; and the Janissaries, strong by the united body which they formed throughout the Empire, were opposed to both. So long as they kept each other in check all went well; otherwise each asserted his claim, which he considered as a personal right, with all the violence he could command. Nor were the Christians uniformly submissive: such as refused to appear before the Kadi, or whom the Turks threatened with death—whether on account of some fault, or because they wished to oppress them without any legal pretext—fled into the forests and turned *Heyducs*, or robbers.

The Heyducs correspond to the Italian *Fuorusciti*, banditti, or to the *Condottieri* of some of the Spanish provinces; but the consideration, that the rulers whose administration they opposed were infidels, gave them a much stronger feeling of being in the right, than the Condottieri could have. The Heyducs lay in ambush for such Turks as they knew would be passing the road, especially those sent with treasure to Constantinople. This, however, did not prevent their claiming the reputation of honesty and fidelity. When two of them associated together, one was styled *Arambasha*, captain or leader; and they frequently assembled in small bands. They had their *Jatatzi* (concealers), who sheltered them, singly, in winter; and whom they served as day labourers or shepherds. With the spring they returned into the forests, and joined their bands; and when one of them happened to be missing, they all considered themselves bound to avenge his death.

There is no doubt that the proceedings of these Heyducs excited a certain ferment in the nation: awakening recollections of the past, and keeping alive the spirit of warfare. Up to this time, however, they had always been disregarded; although the Christian population—who were not very conscientiously spared by them, and who always had to make good the losses they caused—frequently took part against them.

Notwithstanding these disorders, the position of affairs first established—the supremacy of the followers of Islam and the subjection of the Christians—was upon the whole maintained. The difference caused by religion was the more striking, as it was unconnected with difference of descent. The Spahis, at least,—though not in any way tracing their origin to the ancient nobility of the country—were mostly of Servian extraction and language.

However, none regarded it as an act of arbitrary injustice, emanating from personal dislike, that the Christians should be held in exclusion from State affairs, from military command, and from public life. It had always been so: the system, as has been shown, was intimately connected with the principle of Islamism.

In the book of the "Sultan's Commands," compiled by a chief magistrate of Bagdad, in the fifth century of the Hegira, the duties of the Giaours—that is, of those subjects who are not Moslems—are thus specified.* "They must be recognised by their dress; their dwellings must not be loftier than those of the Mussulmans; the sound of their bells must not be heard; they must not ride either horses or dromedaries." Even in the eighteenth century, a decree of Osmar was renewed, by which the "Infidels" are forbidden to study the learned Arabic, or to teach their children the Koran. Above all things, however, "they may not wear arms;†" and this became so completely a matter of course, that it is scarcely ever mentioned afterwards. The Rayahs were considered a weaponless herd, whose duty was obedience and subjection. Such was the general state of Servia in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

* Mawerdi, quoted by Hammer, Verwaltung des Califates, p. 112.

† The Turkish Code of Laws, however, is very explicit; "Code Militaire," given by Ohsson: Suppl. i. 106. "Il doit s'interdire le port des armes, l'usage des chevaux, et de toute autre monture."

The Turks in the country—not only those of distinction, but others of lower rank who had gradually assembled around them—considered themselves the masters of the Rayahs. The Turks not only reserved for themselves the exercise of arms, but also the right of carrying on such trades as were in any way connected with war. Like our northern ancestors, or their own oriental forefathers—amongst whom the son of a smith once founded a dynasty—many a Turk has been seen to turn back his silken sleeve and shoe a horse, an act which he did not consider derogatory to the rank of a gentleman. Other occupations the Mussulmans left with contempt to Christian mechanics: for instance, no Turk would have condescended to be a furrier. Every thing that they thought suitable and becoming—beautiful arms, rich dresses, magnificent houses—they claimed exclusively for themselves.

The personal treatment of Christians was most oppressive: no Servian dared to ride into a town on horseback: he was only allowed to appear on foot; and he was bound to render personal service to any Turk who might demand it. When meeting a Turk on the road, it was his duty to halt, and make way for him; and if he happened to carry small arms in defence against robbers, he was obliged to conceal them. To suffer injuries was his duty; to resent them was deemed a crime worthy of punishment.

Happily the constitution of the country made a separation of the two people possible. Towards the close of the last century, nothing would strike a foreigner passing through Servia more forcibly than the difference between the cities and the country: the Turks lived in the towns, large or small, and in the fortresses; the Servians in the villages.

The Pachas, for their own advantage, would not suffer the Turks to roam, singly, about the country; and, in the existing state of things, the Servians had ample cause for avoiding the towns. Many a Servian attained the age of sixty without ever having seen a town.

Thus, from the distance at which the antagonist parties were kept, the national spirit of the Servians was maintained alive and unsubdued.

CHAPTER IV.

CONDITION, CHARACTER, AND POETRY OF THE SERVIANS.

Servian Villages.—Tutelary Saints.—Brotherly and Sisterly Affection.—Mourning.—Remarkable Custom on the Death of a Brother.—Institution of "The Brotherhood."—Festival of the Garlands.—Marriage Ceremonies.—Revenge in Cases of Murder not known in Servia.—Village Communities.—Substitutes for Churches.—Poverty of the Priesthood.—Confession.—Dependent state of the Monks.—Cloisters.—National Church.—Veneration for Nature.—Festival in honour of the Dead.—Custom of the Women on St. George's Eve.—Whitsuntide.—The Festival of the Kralize.—The Vili.—Festival of St. John.—Harvest.—Procession of the Dodola, a Form of Invocation for Rain.—Custom on the Eve of St. Barbara.—Swearing by the Sun and by the Earth.—Popular Servian Toast or Sentiment.—Remarkable Religious Celebration of Christmas.—Belief in Vampyres and Witches.—Personality of the Plague.—Powerful influence of the Vili.—Servian Poetry.—National and Heroic Songs.—The Gusle.—Festival Meetings.—Domestic Life of the People.—Songs of Husbandry.—Amatory Verse.—Celebration of Heroic Exploits.—Historical Ballads.—Mixture of the True and the Fabulous.—National Collection of Songs.—Wild Traditions.—Deeds of Hunyad.

The villages of Servia extend far up into the gorges of the mountains, into the valleys formed by rivers and streams, or into the depths of forests, and sometimes, when consisting of forty or fifty houses, they spread over a space as extensive as that occcupied by Vienna and its suburbs; the dwellings being isolated, and at a distance one from another. Each habitation contains within itself an entire community. The actual house is a room enclosed by loam walls, and covered with the dry bark of the lime, having the hearth in the centre. Around this room chambers are constructed—Clijet or Wajat—often fitted up with polished boards, but without any fire-places. The house ostensibly belongs to the father and mother of the family; to whose use a separate sleeping-room is sometimes appropriated. The chambers are for the younger married people. All the members of the family constitute but one household; they work and eat together, and in the winter evenings assemble around the

fire. Even when the father dies, his sons, appointing one of their number, the best qualified amongst them, as master of the house (Stargeshina), remain together until too great an increase of the family renders a separation desirable. It is not unusual for one house to form an entire street.

The household requires but little assistance from strangers. The men raise their own buildings; construct in their rude manner, their ploughs and waggons; prepare the yokes of their draught oxen; hoop their casks; and manufacture their shoes from rough leather. Their other clothing is prepared by the women, who spin wool and flax, weave linen and woollen cloth, and understand the art of dyeing with madder. Their land yields the food they require, so that salt is perhaps the only article they find it necessary to purchase. The mechanics most in request by the villages are smiths, to make their tools. A mill belongs to several houses conjointly, and each house has its day for using it.

These family households, supplying all their own wants, and shut up each within itself—a state of things which was continued under the Turks, because the taxes were chiefly levied upon the households—formed the basis of Servian nationality. Individual interest was thus merged, as it were, in that of the family.

No one commemorated the day of the saint whose name he bore, nor his own birth-day; but each household had its tutelary saint, whose day they celebrated with mirth and festivity.

Amongst the early Germans, families were held together by a peculiar preference for the relations on the mother's side; the mother's brother being, according to ancient custom, a very important personage.* In the Sclavonic-Servian tribe there prevails to a greater extent a strong and lively feeling of brotherly and sisterly affection: the brother is proud of having a sister, the sister swears by the name of her brother. A deceased husband is not publicly bewailed by his wife: the mournful office is performed by his mother and sisters, who also tend his grave.

In some parts of the country a very strange custom pre-

* Tacitus: "Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui ad patrem honor," &c. &c.

vails: when one of two brothers dies, whose birthdays chance to fall in the same month, the survivor is fastened to the dead body, until he adopts, in his deceased brother's stead, some stranger youth, by whom he is then released.

These notions have given rise to one of the most peculiar institutions of the Servian tribe—"The Brotherhood." Persons unite with one another "in the name of God and St. John," for mutual fidelity and aid during their whole lives. A man, it is considered, will make the safest selection for his "brother," in choosing one, of whom he may at some time have dreamed that he had solicited assistance in some case of need. The allied designate themselves "Brothers in God," "Brothers by choice," *Pobratimi.* No ecclesiastical benediction is considered necessary for constituting this bond in Servia Proper.

In Altorshova and Negotin, it is customary to renew the turf on graves on the morning of the second Monday after Easter; and on the afternoon of that day the young people assemble and twist green garlands: youths, each one with another, and maidens also, in the same manner, then enter into this alliance, whilst kissing through their garlands, which are afterwards exchanged. This first bond, however—they being yet quite young—lasts only till the succeeding year: it is not yet "brotherhood and sisterhood" for ever; only an initiatory preparation. On the following Easter Monday, by which time they have become better acquainted, they either confirm their original choice or make a new election.

This union concerns only the persons by whom it is formed; marriage is, on the contrary, regarded as an affair of interest to the whole family. The fathers of two houses meet, and settle the matter together: exchanging presents, which sometimes amount to a considerable value. Thus, by a sort of purchase, is so useful a member of a household as a grown-up maiden, surrendered by one to another. The brother of the bride delivers her to the solemn procession which comes to conduct her to her new abode; and there she is received by the sister, or sister-in-law, of the bridegroom. She dresses a child, touches with a distaff the walls which are so often to see her occupied with this implement, and carries bread, wine, and water, up to the table which it

will become her daily duty to prepare: with these symbolical ceremonies she enters into the new community. Her mouth is sealed by a piece of sugar, to denote that she should utter little, and only what is good. As yet she is only a stranger; and for a whole year she is termed the "betrothed." By an assumption of continued bashfulness, prescribed by custom, she keeps apart even from her husband. In the presence of others she scarcely converses with him; much less would a playful phrase be permitted from her lips. It is only when years have passed, and she has become the mother of grown-up children, that she in reality finds herself on an equality with other members of the family into which she has entered.

Considering the strong feeling of blood-relationship that prevails with the Servians, it is remarkable that the revenge of murder is unknown: especially as a feeling of retaliation, common to nations of similar condition, is a prominent characteristic of the people of Montenegro, the race most nearly related to them. This may arise from the fact that powerful families, or races, are not found in Servia: they could not acquire, nor afterwards maintain their ascendancy, in consequence of the violent character of the national subjection.

The union of families into a community, is a custom more of a political nature, than one founded on common origin or lineage. By the Turks, who considered murder rather a loss than a crime, the village in which a murder had been perpetrated was condemned to pay, as compensation, the price of blood, called *Krvcnina*.* This was fixed at one thousand piastres.

The money once paid, the community allowed the murderer to return unmolested. It was deemed sufficient if he were reconciled with the family of the party murdered; and reconciliation, under such circumstances, was not likely to prove very difficult; since revenge would occasion new losses to the community.

The community which a village formed was a very close one. It had the right of electing its own Elders, and Pre-

* Similar ordinances had already appeared in the laws of Dushan, § 32, § 44 (if we may follow Engel's version so far). It is a question how much of the Turkish regulations originated with the old inhabitants, and in what the addition consisted.

sident or Ruler (Seoski Knes): officers who enjoyed both confidence and authority. The *Poresa* was a common burden, and its distribution was regulated by an equitable agreement amongst the villages themselves.

As every family had its own tutelar saint, so also had every village; and the anniversary of this saint's day was kept with religious solemnities. The people assembled in some large open space, on a height near the village, and the clergy consecrated water and oil; then, headed by their priests, the people, bearing crosses and images, went in procession through the fields, and in some places from house to house.

In this manner the clergy supplied the place of churches, which, in most villages, were prohibited by order of the Turks. The want of churches was probably the reason why the priests were far from enjoying that consideration which the lower clergy in the Western Countries so readily obtained. They had no occupation but that of performing baptisms, celebrating marriages, reading the service at funerals, and announcing the festivals from the calendar. The fees received by the priests, for the performance of these parish duties, were not sufficient for their support. Fortunate it was for them if they also possessed some little hereditary property in their village; on which, like their neighbours, they mowed, ploughed, reaped, and cut wood; otherwise they were but badly off. "Father," asked a boy one day of a Priest, "do you also tend your oxen?"—"My son," was the answer, "I would they were mine I tended."

On the other hand, the monks and their cloisters were regarded with general respect and veneration. It had become customary for the people to apply exclusively to the monks for confession; and this, of all priestly functions, has undoubtedly the greatest power in maintaining the authority of the clergy, and giving them influence over the laity.

On certain days, the people assembled for the purpose of confession, in those secret places of refuge, amidst the mountain forest, in which the cloisters are situated. But their attention was not devoted solely to the performance of their religious duties: these days were held as festive meetings of the entire district which attached itself to the cloister; and parties frequently arrived on the preceding evening, and spent the night around a fire. The morning hours having been

devoted to confession and communion, in the afternoon a fair and market followed, with sports and dancing for the young, It was on these occasions that the youths desirous of marrying, were accustomed to seek for their brides; while the old people sat together, engaged in consultation.

But the monks possessed neither independence nor any decided influence of their own; and although better educated than the priests (papas), they were not really learned men. They had no superiors to guide them; and wanting the strict union of a religious order, they lived upon the alms of the Christians. The Kneses were obliged to keep the churches in repair; and for this—although originally merely the chief peasants of villages—they enjoyed the prescriptive right of nominating, from amongst the monks, the Superior of the Cloister—whether his designation were that of Igumen or Archimandrite: a privilege, perhaps, without any precedent.

It seems, that the idea of a National Church, as established under their ancient kings, had been still cherished; at least among the lower classes.

In how many narratives has the founding of so many cloisters, by the Servian kings, been ridiculed! Yet, whilst their government has been laid in ruins, these establishments have mainly contributed to the preservation of both nationality and religion, in the connexion originally existing between them; and it is not without good grounds, that the conversion of the Bosnians to Islamism has been ascribed to their having fewer of such foundations in their country.

After the dissolution of the Patriarchate of Ipek, the cloisters of the old Kings—especially the cloister *Detshiani*, situated near the place where the father of Stephen Dushan had erected his marble church—inspired a veneration and respect by which all the Servian tribes were united.

For this very reason the Turks—who regard religion as a source of revenue—have at times been guilty of severe extortions from the cloister: well knowing that the liberality of the people would meet their demands.

The nationality of the Servian church is further proved by the fact, that the ancient native names have invariably been preserved in it; while among other Sclavonian tribes, the names of saints of the calendar were substituted.

Hence it may be inferred, that the idea of a universal Christian Church would not have prevailed in Servia.

In the popular opinions of all European countries, traces of an ancient veneration of nature are found: but, for the most part, only as scattered fragments without connexion; perhaps not well understood originally, and now unintelligible.

Among the Servians, the whole year is replete with rites, indicating the mysterious relation in which man stands to nature; more especially in such a primitive mode of life. Let us for a moment turn our attention to the subject.

In winter, just before Lent, the great festival in honour of the Dead is celebrated; at which every one solemnizes the memory of his departed relations and friends; and no sooner does Palm Sunday arrive, than the people join in commemorating the renovation of life. On the preceding Saturday the maidens assemble on a hill, and recite poems on the resurrection of Lazarus; and on Sunday, before sunrise, they meet at the same place, where they draw water, and dance their country dance; chanting a song, which relates how the water becomes dull by the antlers of a stag, and bright by his eye.

As soon as ice and snow disappear from the surface of water and land—that being the first harbinger of the renovated year—they commence with these symbolical rites. On the eve of St. George's festival, towards the end of April, the women gather young flowers and herbs; then catching the water cast from a mill-wheel, they throw into it the flowers and herbs, and let both remain during the night, for the purpose of bathing in the water the next morning. This rite apparently signifies that they now surrender themselves to the influence of awakened nature; and on its performance they consider the preservation of their health depends.

Whitsuntide, the festival of the *Kralize*, soon follows. From ten to fifteen virgins—one of whom personates the Standard-bearer, another the King, and another the Queen Kralize, veiled and attended by a Maid of Honour—pass through the village dancing and singing; stopping in front of every house. The subject of most of their songs relates to marriage, the choice of a husband, the happiness of wedded life, and the blessing of children; and the refrain of

every verse is "*Leljo*," supposed to be the name of an ancient Sclavonian Deity of Love. There is also the ambulatory song of the *Vili*, who dance under the growing fruit-tree; and of Radischa—probably a male demon, as the Vili were females; who, shaking the dew from the flowers and leaves, sues to one of the Vilis, promising that, sitting with his mother in the cool shade, she shall spin silk on a golden distaff. The whole proceedings breathe the fresh pleasure of spring, and a concealed and modest emotion of love, nourished by the sympathy of nature now bursting forth into bloom and beauty.

The progress of the year now brings round the longest day: that period of the solstice which in ancient times the people, throughout Europe, were accustomed to celebrate with fire.* In Servia, the festival of St. John is deemed of such importance, that the sun is said to stand still, thrice, in reverence. The shepherds, bearing lighted torches of birch bark, prepared the previous evening, walk round the pens of their flocks, and the enclosure in which the oxen are kept; they then ascend the mountain, and allow the torches to burn out, whilst they occupy themselves with sports.

The injuries to be apprehended to the harvest in Servia, are twofold—too great an aridity and violent storms. In the event of a continued drought, a maiden is divested of her usual garments, and so wrapped round with grass, herbs, and flowers, that hardly any part, even of her face, can be seen. She is called the *Dodola*; and in this state, like a walking bundle of grass, she goes from house to house; the housewife then pours a pailful of water over her as a symbol. Her companions chant a prayer for rain, and the people feel almost certain of obtaining their object. They have a song expressly composed for the occasion: its purport is, that the clouds should outrun the procession, and bedew the grapes and corn as it advances.

They pray when they want rain; but storms they consider to be under the control of the most distinguished saints. Elias, whose ascension is recorded in the Bible, is here held as a sort of god of thunder, and called "the Thunderer;"

* A decree of the Council of Nuremberg, 20th June, 1653, quoted by J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, 351, forbids this as "an old heathenish and bad custom, a superstitious heathenish work."

the fiery Mary sends lightnings; and Panteleimon rules the tempests. The days especially devoted to the worship of these saints, fall between the 20th and 28th of July.

From this time the people are busy in field and garden, housing the fruits which the year has yielded. When winter begins, they think of the new year: the powers of nature, now in a state of renovation, being those on which the prosperity of the next year depends. On the eve of St. Barbara, they boil all sorts of grain together in one pot; leaving it all night on the fire. Next morning they examine on which side of the vessel the mass has boiled up highest; and, in that direction, they till the fallow ground.

In this way the people express their dependence upon the powers of nature. To this day they swear by the sun and the earth. *Tako mi Suntza, Tako mi Semlje!* "So (help) me Sun, so (help) me Earth!" are very usual asseverations.

Nevertheless, they believe that everything proceeds immediately from God. They will rarely commence any sort of work, but in the name of God; and would deem it sinful to make a promise without the proviso—"If God permit." Their very language has conformed itself to this feeling; and we may mention one very remarkable ellipsis:—they do not say to a traveller, "Whither are you going?" nor "Whither are you going, if it please God?" but simply—"If it please God;" omitting altogether the actual question. They have three daily prayers—early in the morning, before supper, and on retiring to rest—in which they do not employ established forms; and at table, instead of one asking a blessing on the food, each individual expresses, in his own words, gratitude to the Supreme Being. In drinking, the toast or sentiment of the Servians is—"To the Glory of God!" and no one would presume to take his seat at the head of a convivial party, who was not able to extemporise a suitable prayer. Every one considers himself at all times under the peculiar protection of his tutelary saint. The invitation to the festival of the patron saint of the house is usually in these words:—"Our house, too, is the Lord's. We invite you to come this evening. What the saint has bestowed, we will not keep back." The man who leads a life of labour, is aware that he is so much the more dependent on an inscrutable and almighty Power above; and in

proportion as he knows less of nature, feels the necessity of imagining the protection and aid of the higher powers to be ever near him. At the same time, it is quite possible that, rising above superstition and error, a pure idea of the Supreme Being, whom we all revere and worship, may be kept alive and in force. The manner in which devotion and superstition are connected in the Servian solemnization of Christmas, merits consideration.

On Christmas-eve, after the labours of the day are finished, the father of the family goes into the wood, and cuts down a straight oak-sapling; which he brings into the house, with the salutation, "Good evening, and happy Christmas!" To this all present answer, "God grant it to thee, thou happy one, rich in honour!" whilst they cast corn over him; the tree, which is called *Badujak*, is then placed upon the coals. In the morning, which is saluted by the firing of pistols, a visitor appears: one being previously chosen for each house; he throws corn from a glove through the door-way, and exclaims, "Christ is born!" Some one in the house, in return, throws corn towards the visitor, and answers, "In truth He is born!" On this, another of the party advances; and whilst, with a poker, he strikes the Badujak, which is still lying on the coals, so that the sparks are scattered about, he cries, "As many sparks, so many oxen, cows, horses, goats, sheep, swine, bee-hives: so much good fortune and happiness!" The housewife then envelopes the visitor in a coverlet of the bed; and the remains of the Badujak are carried into the orchard. They do not go to church, but every one comes to the repast with a lighted wax taper. Holding the tapers in their hands, they pray, and kiss one another, repeating the words "God's peace! Christ is in truth born! We adore Him!" To indicate a close union of every member of the house, the head of the family collects the yet burning tapers, and fastening them together, places them in a dish, filled with the Tshesznitza and all sorts of grain, and thus extinguishes them. The Tshesznitza is an unleavened roll of the usual form, with a piece of money kneaded into it; and when it is broken, he who finds the money in his piece of bread, is expected to have, above all the others, a fortunate year. The table is not cleared, nor is the room swept, during three days; open house is kept for every comer until New

Year's Day; the salutation continuing, "Christ is born!' and the reply, "In truth He is born!"

Thus do the Servians celebrate Christmas. We will not discuss the question, whether the Badujak, smouldering away by degrees, were not originally a type of the fire of St. John on the mountains. Both customs are symbolical of the course of the year, and of the sun; who, as one of their songs says, does not keep her* word, for she does not shine in winter as long as in summer. Neither shall we inquire whether the grain—with which the master of the house is greeted, in which he extinguishes the tapers, and with which the visitor announces his glad tidings—typifies all the good gifts bestowed upon man by Divine Providence. But it is remarkable, in each case, how man here brings the most important event by which religion represents to him the relation of God to the world, in connexion with his own insignificant necessities,—his mere earthly wishes; and this, too, without detracting from the dignity of the festival. This rite appears with a certain simplicity and grandeur, in the midst of his circumscribed existence; and if it excite any desires, still it disposes the mind to the hospitable reception of strangers. The Divine Nativity unites the respective members of the family in unanimous worship and prayerful harmony.

But, besides these preserving powers which they worship, the Servians acknowledge also the existence of destructive influences and hostile agencies.

It is indeed strange that unseen influences should be impersonated among so many nations, and ascribed to the restless spirits of the dead, or associated with the belief in apparitions and witches.

The belief in the existence of the vampyre is common in Servia. There can be no doubt that it is connected with the idea generally held in the Greek Church, that the bodies of those who have died whilst under excommunication by the Church, are incorruptible; and that such bodies, being taken possession of by evil spirits, appear in lonely places, and murder men. In Servia, however, the people no longer connect it with the tenets of the Church; nor do they con-

* The Sun is feminine in Servia.—TRANSL.

sider that the vampyre undergoes punishment for a guilty life, as a poet has wrought out the idea; they think only of the danger which it threatens to the living. They believe that at night the vampyre leaves his grave, makes his way into the houses of the living, and there sucks the blood of the sleepers as his food. Speedy death is the inevitable consequence of such a visitation, and any one who so dies becomes himself a vampyre. Whole villages are said to have been thus destroyed; and some communities threatened to leave their dwellings, unless they had permission to ensure their safety in their own manner. With this view, they did not, like the Greeks, resort to absolution; but the elders of the villages caused the graves to be opened, and then piercing with a stake of white-thorn the heart which still required blood, they burnt the body to ashes, which they threw into the river.*

In the simple course of a life closely allied to a state of uncultivated nature, nothing more earnestly engages attention than sudden deaths rapidly succeeding one another; and fancy busies itself in accounting for them by ascribing them to influences beyond the grave.

Of the witches (*wjeshtizes*) the Servians believe that they quit their bodies, and, like other spirits, fly about in fire. Unseen, they approach the sleeper whom they have destined to death—open, with a magic rod, the left side of his breast; and, whilst pronouncing over him an appointed day of death, extract his heart and devour it. The breast is then closed, and the doomed one will continue to live, only till the day appointed by the witch who devoured his heart; but in the mean time the spring of his life is irrecoverably dried up.

The plague, too, is considered by the Servians, as it is also by the Lithuanians and modern Greeks, to be a personal

* Curieuse und sehr wunderbare Relation von denen sich neuer Dingen in Servien erzeigenden Blut-Saugern oder Vampyrs, 1732. A small publication, which is founded on two official reports of the years 1725 and 1732, forwarded to Belgrade at the time of the Austrian rule in Servia. The last, addressed to Prince Charles Alexander of Wurtemberg, at that time Governor of Belgrade, is a very circumstantial account, and certified by the signature of a colonel, an ensign, and three surgeons in the army. As the Prince was staying at Stuttgart, it became known in Germany, and the people were already afraid that the vampyres might spread there and visit them also.

being. Female forms wearing white veils, are supposed to carry the disease from place to place, and from house to house; and many persons, when suffering from the plague, will protest, most solemnly, that they have seen them, to their sorrow—ay, have even conversed with them! Although these female forms are considered personifications of the plague, their appearance is not ascribed to their own evil will, to chance, or to any other malevolent influence: it is believed that God himself, when wickedness has become too great to be longer permitted, sends them from a distant land.

But the marvellous is called into aid, in quite a different direction, when the course of nature is at all interrupted by any thing extraordinary; even by genius or by energy. The most peculiar images of Servian fantasy are, however, the *Vili*. It is asserted that these beings have been seen by man; they are described as very beautiful; with their hair waving in the wind as they swiftly move along. Their dwellings are in the dark forests and near the rivers. It is not quite certain whether they are regarded as immortal, or whether the possibility of their being subject to death is admitted; but they are accounted more powerful than men, and are supposed to possess a knowledge of the future.* There are persons who can converse with them: such are marked out from their birth; and their knowledge is greater than that of others. They who have passed through the twelve classes, are initiated by them on *Wrsino Kolo;* after which, they can direct the clouds and rule the weather. The hero of the nation also, is generally joined in brotherhood with the *Vili*. Others, however,—common men,—must shun them. Should any one happen to approach the spot where, invisibly, the *Vili* dance the *Kolo*, or take their repast, he has to dread their anger. Even of the pupils whom they initiate, the twelfth is always forfeited to them, and they at once retain him. Superstitious delusions! but

* In the season of 1844–5, a beautiful *ballet*, founded upon the love-dance of the Vili, and entitled *La Giselle*, was produced at Her Majesty's Theatre with extraordinary success; and in 1846, an opera upon the same subject, under the title of the *Night Dancers*, the *libretto* of which was written by Mr. George Soane, and the music composed by Loder, proved attractive at the Princess's Theatre.—TRANSL.

at the same time blended with the feelings of nature and thoughtful poetry.

Already we enter upon the domain of Servian poesy; which is connected with and expresses these sentiments. Like them, it is altogether national, and intuitive; an unconscious result of the ordinary dispositions and direction of the popular mind. No one is able to name the writers even of the most recent songs: people even hesitate to acknowledge their authorship; and indeed it is little inquired after. As their lyrical effusions are subjected to constant changes, and the very song which is disliked when given by an inferior singer, excites enthusiasm when sung by a more successful performer—by one possessing more of the national sentiment and spirit—the authorship is considered as of little importance.*

It has been observed that there are, in Servian Hungary, schools in which the blind learn these national songs, by which they become known; but that is not the true method. In the mountains of Servia and Herzegovina, there is no occasion to learn them: they are familiar to the people even from their infancy.

In the mountains, the *gusle*, the instrument on which the song is accompanied, is to be met with in almost every house. When, in the winter evenings, all are assembled around the fire, and the women are engaged with their spinning, a song is struck up by whomsoever happens to know it best. The old men, having grown-up sons, and being excused from hard labour, recite these songs to their grandchildren; who yield themselves with delight to the impressions through which they receive their first knowledge of the world. Even the Igumens of the cloister do not deem it derogatory to sing to the gusle. But the performance has more of the character of recitation than of singing: the monotonous sound of the instrument, which has but one string, chiming in only at the end of the verse.

In the mountains—where men are of simpler habits, loftier in stature, and of ruder nature—we hear heroic songs, invari-

* If in some parts of Homer we observe a poetical vein less rich than in others, we may conclude, from the experience which has been acquired in collecting the Servian songs, that at the moment of transition from oral delivery into writing, that such good *rhapsodists* could not be found

ably of five trochees, with the fixed pause after the second foot; and almost every line is in itself a complete sentence. As we advance towards the Danube and the Save, when we find the villages closer together, the race of men is more polished, more friendly, and also smaller in stature; the gusle becomes less common; and—especially as an accompaniment for dancing—the love-song prevails: it is more flexible and flowing than other songs, since it adds the dactyl, in varied modes, to the trochee; but it is in its kind equally national.

In the more numerous assemblies, the heroic song prevails; and at taverns, where card-playing is yet unknown, it constitutes the principal entertainment: the singer is he who has first taken the gusle into his hand, and who is best able to accompany it with his voice. At the festivals and assemblies near the cloisters, parties stand forward who have devoted themselves exclusively to singing—including the blind; who, however—especially in Servia—are oftener singers than composers of songs. Men of real poetic talent, like Philip Vishnitsch from Bosnia, are occasionally met with, who collect a circle around them, and often move their audience to tears.

Nor have those Servians who have gone over to Islamism, been able to subdue their affection for poesy. Christians and Mahometans frequently have the same heroic song; the only difference being that each claims the victory for the adherents to its own faith. The Chiefs, though they would not take part in the song, listen to it with delight; and in Sarajevo, they once induced the Kadi to liberate a Christian prisoner, merely because his songs pleased them. The difference of religion is overcome by poesy: it unites the whole race—it lives throughout the nation. The mountains, where the herdsman tends the cattle; the plains, on which the harvest is reaped; the forest, through which the traveller makes his way—all resound with song: it forms an accompaniment to business of all sorts. What, then, are the subjects of these strains, which, under circumstances so infinitely varied, are thus interwoven with life, while they are almost unconsciously raised above it?

for some as for others. We must not suppose the singer to be a mere declaimer: he is obliged by his own poetical talent to reproduce the poem which was handed down to him.

What man strongly feels, he naturally seeks to express. Here, where no external model presents itself, the inward spiritual existence, from which all our thoughts and actions proceed, is manifested, by words, according to its own peculiar originality. In the light of innate thought, which is the spirit of life, poetry conceives its ideas, and reproduces them true to nature, but in purer and more abstract forms, at once individual and symbolical.

Servian song discloses the domestic life of the people; it pays due honour to the husbandman "who has black hands, but eats white bread;" it loves to dwell, with fondness, on the old man with venerable flowing beard, whose soul, when he leaves the earthly temple of his God, has become pure as æther, or the breath of a flower; but it luxuriates most in those affections which exalt the worth of a family and maintain it in integrity and honour.

The singer delights to speak of the maiden in the first bloom of youth, gaily participating in every gentle sport; he sympathises with her growing affection when she first becomes aware of its existence, and confides it only to the garland that she throws into the brook; tracing its progress to the time when she confesses to the youth that, gazing upon him, she had grown up graceful in his sight; and on to the blissful period of their union, which he pictures in strains of surpassing sweetness: charming pictures, sweetly limned, on the light back-ground of a landscape.

It is just where life assumes its rugged aspect, that poesy, with gentle solicitude, unveils the hidden feelings that we hardly venture to acknowledge to ourselves. Yet it does not conceal from us how differently things will afterwards present themselves: how the housewife now gives the nosegay—which, in former times, she would have placed in the evening in water, that it might unfold its beauty—to the child who throws it amongst the sweepings; how bad the mothers-in-law are; and that the disputes of sisters-in-law are so incessant that the swallow congratulates the cuckoo on not being obliged to hear them!

An universal feature of Servian poetry is the comparison of the various affections. The lover is, perhaps, preferred to the brother, but the brother is esteemed more than the husband: the wife's jealousy of the sister may be seen increasing,

even to abhorrence and murder. The holiness of the alliance of brotherhood is forcibly portrayed.—Woe to the man who should endeavour to seduce his bond-sister, or violate the sacred relationship of godfather with an impure purpose! All the leading occurrences of life are brought before us: the wedding procession and the nuptial present; the village festival, where the men sit carousing, while the boys are casting stones from their slings, and the girls dance the kolo. They attribute, in like manner, their domestic relations to the Holy Family.

When the poem is devoted to the celebration of heroic exploits, the heroism is no other than that of robbers; for with no other are they acquainted. Robbery is justified by them, on the ground that it is directed against the Turks; who are not only infidels, but also untrustworthy and full of deceit, and who have gained their possessions by unfair means. "By robbery," say they, "their property was accumulated; by robbery it is torn from them." On the frontiers, the bandit lives like the falcon, that darts down to seize its prey. They call to mind the thousand dangers which surround him; the rock behind which he plants himself in ambush, the hiding-place where he remains until almost dying with hunger; and then his victorious attack. They describe him in the act of seizing his rifle—a weapon of as much importance to the Servian poet as was the bow to the minstrel of ancient times; and picture him as he sinks upon his right knee, resting the weapon upon the left, and aiming with a steady eye: even the wound is brought before us with relentless anatomical accuracy. These songs are replete with a rude intelligence; and they treat of various subjects. Where the passion of love is portrayed, deep tenderness for the true and constant is expressed; and on the faithless is invoked vehement malediction, inexhaustible in its imprecations. In hatred as in love, impetuosity is associated with mildness. A touching sensibility is frequently shown for the conquered party: the victor attends his prisoner, leads him out that he may warm himself in the sun, and at length gives him his liberty, with God alone as guarantee for his ransom. The young wife whom he leads to his home, does not alight from her horse until the keys of the dungeon are

delivered up to her, that she may set the prisoners free. In some songs feelings of the most opposite kind are exhibited in an antithesis of sentiment: two bond-brothers perhaps will, at the same moment, plunge their daggers into the bosom of a Turkish woman whom they both love; that they may not quarrel on her account; an aged father, when the head of the man who has murdered his son is brought to him, exclaims, "Blessed am I to-day and for ever!" and expires in peace. Such is man, in this stage of cultivation—such is the man of this race. As is the hero, so is the bard; poesy, like a kindred element surrounding our life, reflects to us its phenomena; not perhaps all and each, but those which are most important from their peculiarities—and least liable to be obscured by insignificant details.

It is worthy of consideration that the history of the nation, developed by its poetry, has through it been converted into a national property, and is thus preserved in the memory of the people. Ancient times have been almost forgotten, and recollection clings to the latest splendour of the nation, and to its downfall: which we, indeed, have chiefly noticed. These are portrayed in some extensive collections of songs.

In the commencement, Stephen Dushan presents himself to our notice—just as history represents him, surrounded by great families whom he has to treat with the utmost caution. They at once stand forth in that character which the progress of the song demands: the *Jugovitsches*, proud and violent; the *Merljavtschevitsches*—allied with demons and with the Vili—and whom we find, immediately after Dushan's death, possessing themselves of the highest authority. According to the testimony of history, this is to be ascribed to the incapacity of the weak Urosh; whom the song represents as a child of forty days' old at the murder of his father: an act of violence that did not, however, gratify all the members of that race. From the Merljavtschevitsches was descended the hero of the nation, Marko Kraljevitsch, who feared no one but the true God. He declared that the kingdom should be given up by his father and his uncles, and restored to him, to whom it belonged. Could a hero be introduced under more favourable circumstances? For this act he is promised malediction and bliss,

both of which he experiences; and by these very means the ultimate result is foreshadowed in perspective.*

One thing denounced against him is, that he would be forced to serve the Turks: a second cycle of songs—the *Lasaritza*—describes in what manner the country falls into their hands. The poem, no less than the history, speaks of the internal discord and treason in which this great calamity originated. At the same time, however, a painful feeling that such a result is inevitable pervades the poem. The most blameless, the handsomest, the noblest of the heroes of Lasar, Milosch, announces the event; the intelligence is conveyed to the King by heavenly messengers, and he absolves his people before the battle. Nevertheless, the valour of the combatants is greatly extolled. A curse is pronounced against the traitor; and the death of the fallen is pathetically celebrated.†

Marko was not in the battle; but the cause of his absence remains concealed from us. A third collection of these songs is devoted to him. He is described, not as a man like the other heroes, but as a supernatural being. He lives *a hundred and sixty years;* and during the whole of that period rides the same horse, which he causes to drink wine out of the vessel that he himself uses; on it he sits, a dragon mounted upon a dragon. No sword or club can kill him. The Vili, who mortally wounds his companion, he pursues on horseback into the air, to the height of many lances; he reaches her with his club; and does not release her until she has implored of him to enter into a brotherly alliance with her, has pledged herself to afford him assistance in every need, and has cured the wound of his friend.

After tradition has so marvellously equipped this hero, what does she make him achieve? He serves the Turks.

* To this first cycle would belong the songs which Wuk, Vol. II., gives under Nos. 5, 6, 8—10.

† Nos. 17—21, 23, 24. Milosch always remained very celebrated. Ducas mentions him as renowned in history. Among the Bulgarians, Gerlach in 1578 found him still fresh in remembrance. When Curipeschiz in 1530 travelled across the Amselfeld he heard so much of him that he makes him the subject of a narrative, fictitious, but full of details (Itinerarium Wegrayss, &c., 1531, Sheet E), in which we think we can perceive the most ancient trace of Servian poetry extant. The traditions recorded by the Presbyter Diocleas most likely belong to a later epoch.

He is invited, we are told, by the other neighbouring kings, to a church festival, at the very time when the Sultan demands his military service; but, mindful of his vassalage, he joins the war. However, he does not suffer himself to be unjustly treated, as others have been: he kills the vizier, who has broken his falcon's wing, and also the vizier's twelve attendants; he avenges himself on the murderer of his father; and then, with his skin-garment the wrong side outwards, and club in hand, he, in great wrath, enters the Sultan's tent. The Sultan alarmed steps back, and endeavours, by words and presents, to pacify him. Marko, however, still continues to serve the Turks; as we are told in the narrative of various other adventures. Now he fights with a Moor, who has forced the Sultan to give him his daughter and pay him tribute; and then he engages in combat, which no one else dares, with an Albanian, who, assisted by evil genii, has, from a fortress, stopped the navigation of the river, the pilgrimages to shrines, and the transport of tribute. He then follows the Turkish army, even into Arabia.

It appears as though the nation had intended to represent, in this hero, its own vassalage, at the period when, after the battle of Kossovo, the Servian army assisted, almost every year, in the wars of Bajazet; yet maintaining its independent character, and still appearing formidable in its force, even to the Sultan himself. At this time the nation was possessed of vast strength, and unbroken courage; and yet—it served the Turks. This the Servian poets have represented in their hero, whom they portray with all the characteristics of the national sentiments—even with the barbarism of a blood-thirsty cruelty mingled with the love of gain—concentrating in him the glories of their more ancient heroes. The event which led to their subjugation, they could represent with a closer adherence to historical fact; but the state of vassalage, which endured for ages afterwards, can only be shown mythically. One of their poems describes how the invulnerable one was at length destroyed by God, "the ancient slayer:" a poetic fancy full of simplicity and a sublime feeling of loneliness; others express a hope that he is still alive. When Marko for the first time saw a gun, and witnessed the certainty of its deadly effect, he retreated into

a cavern of the forest mountain. There hangs his sword, his horse is eating the moss, and the hero himself has fallen asleep; but when the sword falls to the ground, and there is no moss left for the horse, Marko will awake and again come forth.

These legends do not all reach us in unbroken succession, but in separate songs, each of which has its own particular subject. They have never been thoroughly wrought out and united by the congenial spirit of an individual poet; but one tone, one sense, one view of the world, at the same time poetical and popular, pervades them all. The lofty unity of the general fable cannot be mistaken: it embodies for the Servian nation, in a lively and striking tradition, the recollection of its greatness, and the loss of its independence.

Many an event of more recent occurrence has likewise been recorded in similar strains. A remembrance of the deeds of *Hunyad*, whom the Servians claim as their countryman, has been kept alive in songs abounding with ingenious allegory. Nor have the first robbers been forgotten. Some songs have been devoted to the Uzkoks, but only when they fought against the Turks: their exploits on the ocean have been allowed to pass unnoticed. Until the victories of the people of Montenegro, in short, Servian poetry has kept pace with history.*

Although there was peace in the country, we still observe the spirit of the nation unceasingly animated by anticipa-

* For the English reader, the best view to be obtained of the structure of "*Servian Popular Poetry*," will be found in Dr. Bowring's *Introduction* to his *Translations*, published in 1827.

"Independently," says this writer, "of the measure of ten syllables, universally used in the ballads of the Servians, they have verses of seven syllables, consisting of two trochaics and one dactyl:

'Wĭlt thoŭ lōve thў Mĭlĭtzā?'

of eight syllables, consisting of four trochaics; as:

'Hāstĕn ōnwărd tō thĕ wēddĭng;'

and of one trochaic between two dactyls:

'Mērrĭlў, dāncĭng, mērrĭlў;'

of ten syllables, two trochaics and two dactyls:

'Mōrăvă's bānks ărc trōd bў thĕ māidĕn;'

tions of war against those who governed them. At length the time arrived when this warlike spirit was called into active exercise for self-defence; in consequence of events brought about by an entire change in the state of affairs: principally amongst the Ottomans, whose internal relations were altered, as well as their position with regard to the rest of the world.

CHAPTER V.

ORIGIN OF THE RECENT MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY.

Internal relations of Turkey and its Dependencies.—War of 1788.—The Emperor Joseph of Austria and the Servians.—Prussian Policy.—Restoration of the Turkish Power in Servia.—Weakness and Hesitation of the Ottoman Government.—Reforms of Sultan Selim III.—French Officers in the Pay of the Turks,—Military Improvements.—Introduction of European Tactics.—The Janissaries.—Effects of the Changes adopted.

How often has the breaking-up of the Ottoman Empire into various independent Pachalics been predicted! How often has this event been thought near at hand! In fact, powerful Pachas, as those of Bagdad, Acre, Viddin, and Janina, have, at times, refused to send their tribute, and

of twelve syllables, composed of two trochaics and one iambic:

'Gō thĕn, Kūm, thŏu lōv'd ŏne, wāits shĕ fŏr thēe;'

and of thirteen syllables, namely, four trochaics, a dactyl, and a closing trochaic:

'Lōok ăroūnd, thŏu lōvelў Crētă, smīlĭnglў lŏok rōund.'"

Dr. Bowring, in speaking of the language of Servia (which is in fact the Russian hellenized, deprived of its harshness and its consonant terminations, and softened down into a perfect instrument for poetry and music), quotes the following passage, descriptive of the different Slavonic tongues, from Schaffarik's *Slawische Sprache und Literatur*.

"Servian song resembles the tune of the violin; old Slavonian, that of the organ; Polish, that of the guitar. The old Slavonian in its psalms sounds like the loud rush of the mountain stream; the Polish, like the bubbling and sparkling of a fountain; and the Servian, like the quiet murmuring of a streamlet in the valley."

have even risen in actual rebellion. Many provinces—Egypt, for instance, and Bosnia—have succeeded in maintaining themselves, for lengthened periods, to a certain degree independent. The example of the Barbary States was naturally followed by other States, though, it is true, at intervals, and under somewhat different circumstances.

But, ultimately, it has been always found that the Sultan possessed the means of crushing these insurrections and preserving the integrity of his empire.

The ancient authority of a dynasty, which, during so many centuries, no other dynasty has been able, successfully, to oppose—the union of religious and secular power in one hand, which would not suffer a spirit of resistance to gain ground in the minds of the people—the connexion of the military institutions from one extremity of the Empire to the other—the regulation of judicial and spiritual offices adapted to the character and usages of the people—the establishment of the influence of some great Ulema families, which had become almost hereditary, all these points, converging to one common centre, made it very difficult to tear asunder the ties which bound one province to another, and united the whole under one central power; if a thorough change in the Turkish Empire were probable, it was to be sought for in another direction.

By the example of Servia may be seen what opposing tendencies the Turkish Empire comprised within itself: nations, with an inextinguishable consciousness of their own position, a peculiar firmness of character, and a lively recollection of their former grandeur, found themselves by the ruling principle of the state excluded from all power, and condemned to servitude; while, on the other hand, the prevailing religion gave its professors a right to govern, filled them with overbearing pride, and excited them to oppression.

Well might the subjugated Rayahs despair of emancipating themselves by their own efforts: for this they were far too weak, too much divided amongst themselves, and too carefully watched, in every place, by their enemies—who were, at the same time, their masters.

But how different would it have been had the Christian powers, who were emulating each other in the development of their strength, and had gradually raised themselves to an

unquestionable superiority over the Turkish State, determined to lend their assistance to the Christians who were under the yoke of the Ottomans!

From the apprehension of such a step, the rise of the Russian Empire caused much alarm to the Turkish government. The mere existence of a power professing the creed of the Greek Church, before whose rising splendour the Crescent grew pale, rendered the obedience of the Rayahs doubtful.

When, in the year 1770, the first Russian fleet appeared in the Ægean Sea, the Greeks rose, with a resolution only too daring and premature, both in the islands and on the mainland. The name of Athens, then remembered only by antiquaries, again became of importance in the politics of the day.

Still more extensive and more promising, at least for the inland Christians of the Sclavonian tribes, were the prospects presented by the war which broke out in 1788.

Austria, which had taken the Servian Patriarchate under its protection, and in the reign of the tolerant Joseph, abstained from oppressing the adherents of the Greek Church, united with Russia for an attack on the Porte. The object of this was, to destroy the dominion of the Turks in Europe; in order, as the Emperor Joseph said, "to revenge mankind on those barbarians." This intention was not concealed, but, on the contrary, was more vigorously displayed in each succeeding campaign.

Nor did the Greeks now remain inactive: a fleet, manned and armed principally by them, appeared at sea, under the command of Lampros Cazonis; and there were evident movements in Albania and Macedonia. The Servians, however, took the most decided part in this demonstration.

The Emperor Joseph conceived the judicious idea of forming a volunteer corps of such Servians as would join him; and, the scheme having been adopted, a considerable body of horse and foot soldiers was speedily raised. This force rendered excellent service at the siege of Belgrade in 1789; and, more particularly, after the town had been captured, and the troops had begun to take possession of the country. Colonel Mihalievitsch, who commanded this volunteer corps of Servian emigrants, took up his position near Jagodina and Kiupria. He forced his way to Karanovaz, over roads

which an army had never before passed, nor artillery traversed, and seized it from the Turks. In January, 1790, he appeared before Kruschevatz; and having placed his men in battle array, amidst the sound of Turkish and Austrian instruments, he carried the town. The old churches, which bore witness to the glory of the Knes Lasar (who had here his principal seat), but had since been converted by the Turks into stables for their horses, were cleaned out and reconsecrated, and again resounded with Christian hymns of thanksgiving.*

The Imperialists boasted, in their despatches, and not without reason, that they had conquered a large portion of the old kingdom of Servia. The inhabitants took it for granted, that they should now remain subjects of the Emperor of Germany. They had everywhere joined him with devotion; in most districts had rendered him homage; and in several instances had undertaken to defend, conjointly with the Imperial troops, the conquered places against their now common enemy.

But again their hopes were doomed to disappointment.

So soon as it appeared that the designs of the Imperial Courts were likely to be carried into effect, apprehensions arose amongst the other European powers, at seeing the general equilibrium likely to be disturbed by so extensive an increase of territorial possession. The old jealousy that ever opposes the winner, raised itself in favour of the Turks; and it soon became evident that their fall was not to be permitted.

It became doubtful whether their former boundaries should be restored to them. Of the European powers, there was at least one—Prussia—who was not decided on the point, although strenuously opposed to an exclusive extension of the territory of Austria. It was in accordance with the then policy of Prussia—which, under the ministry of Herzberg, still adhered to the views of Frederick II—to allow Austria, in return for some concessions in favour of Prussia, on the Polish frontier, and other changes of territory connected with it, to extend her power on the Danube, and to recover Moldavia and Wallachia; or, should that be im-

* Ausführliche Geschichte des Krieges zwischen Russland, Œstreich und der Turkei. Wien, 1791–2, vol. v. pp. 30, 61.

possible, at least those Servian districts which she had possessed after the peace of Passarovitz.*

But Prussia did not find herself supported in these views by her own allies, Holland and England. For some time the question respecting the restoration of the strict *status quo*, or the propriety of some exchanges, occupied the cabinets of these countries. When, however, the danger, with which the disturbances in France threatened the whole constitution of the European powers, became momentarily more pressing, it was finally resolved, that above all things peace should first be obtained, all idea of change renounced, and the whole of Servia restored to the Turks.

Exclusively occupied with discussions respecting the balance of power, statesmen bestowed no thought upon the interests of the Christian population; who had shown themselves so deserving of general sympathy. It was deemed sufficient to secure an amnesty for all who had, in any of the Turkish provinces, deserted the Sultan and gone over to the Emperor, and to allow them to return in safety to their estates.† Thus Servia, with all its fortresses, was given back to the Sultan.

No one, however, will suppose that, by these means, affairs were placed upon their former footing.

The Turkish commissioners who took possession of the country, expressed their astonishment, mingled with apprehension of what might be the results, when they beheld a Servian troop, fully armed, march out from a fortress which was to be delivered up to them, and perform with precision all the military evolutions of the Imperial Army. "Neighbours!" cried one of them, "what have you made of our Rayahs?"

It has been affirmed that, to the last, the Servians indulged in the expectation of rising up in arms under a certain officer of the Free Corps, whom they wish to elevate to the dignity of a Prince over them: and that a young Servian lady, courted by the officer referred to, had in a jest been saluted as their Princess! The truth of this statement has not been ascertained; but, at all events, it is evident that

* Consult "Précis de la carrière diplomatique du Comte de Herzberg. Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft von Ad. Schmidt, I. p. 28.

† Traité fait à Sistowa, 4 Août, 1791: Martens, V. 244.

the spirit of national independence when once roused could not easily be suppressed. They who had borne victorious arms against the Turks, cherished a consciousness of their own dignity by such recollections.

Russia, on her side, had, in the peace of Jassy, imparted fresh force to the stipulations which had previously been agreed upon in favour of the Christian inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia, and in the islands of the Archipelago; it will therefore be seen how greatly the elements of resistance and independence, amongst the Christian nations in European Turkey, had increased, in consequence of this war.

But it had also another effect, of a very different, and one might almost say, of an opposite character.

For some time the Turkish government had been fully sensible of the superiority of its neighbours, and of its own inability, in its actual state, to resist them. It almost despaired of being able to remedy the evil. "The Empire is overthrown!" exclaimed the Sultan Mustapha III.: "do not imagine that it can be restored by us." Prepared for the worst, a Vizier of Abdulhamid observed: "In Asia, too, there are shady valleys, where kiosks may be built."

The people of Constantinople, however, did not so easily relinquish their wonted confidence. They imputed the disasters they had sustained to the personal incompetence of their leaders; and, with sanguine expectation, they turned their eyes to Selim, the heir to the throne, to whom they ascribed all the virtues extolled by the Koran.* In the places of public resort it was commonly said, that it was he who should restore the empire to its ancient splendour.

Selim, indeed, when he ascended the throne, strongly entertained the same notions. The superiority of his Christian neighbours, which, in that year (1789) was proved very decidedly, acted as a powerful inducement to him to make an attempt towards attaining this object. But Selim set about the matter in a manner very different from that which the people had expected. Their hope was to see him, like a Sultan of old, take the field at the head of the Janissaries and Spahis, and overthrow his enemies; in accordance with their holy books and the spirit of the faithful Mussulmans.

* "Che sia valoroso, attaccatissimo alla sua religione, intraprendente et avido di gloria militare." Zulian, Relatione di Constantinopoli, 1789.

Selim, on the contrary, who perceived that the cause of his country's disasters lay in the superiority of the military resources of his enemies, and their experience in the art of war, resolved, in the first instance, to assimilate the Turkish troops with theirs; in order that, at some future time, he might be enabled to lead them with greater confidence into the field.

That this should be the result, had long been the opinion of such of the European States as hoped to find in the Sultan, if he could only in some measure be rendered capable of resistance, a useful ally against the power of Austria; and particularly against that of Russia. In France, especially, this idea was entertained.

It is unnecessary to speak here of the attempts of Bonneval or of Tott, who came to Constantinople in the suite of the French ambassador; it is of more importance to observe, that, in the year 1785, a considerable number of French officers were found in that capital: still remaining in the pay of their own Court, and zealously engaged in the introduction of military reforms.*

They cast cannon for the Turks, and taught them to point and fire; small fortifications were thrown up to exercise them in the art of attack and defence; new ships were built after French models: retaining, however, whatever was advantageous in the Turkish mode of construction. It is yet remembered with what zeal the Capitan Pacha, Gazi Hassan—at that time probably the most famous man in the Levant—exerted himself to improve the Turkish navy. As, even at that period, it was the great aim of the French to restrict the power of the Russians to the Black Sea, they erected, for the Turks, fortresses on both sides of the Channel, at Kila and at Riva†—the videttes, as they

* Relatione di Constantinopoli del bailo Agostino Garzoni, contenuta in due dispacci del medisimo del 10 Nov. 1785. La Francia, che sempre ha preso cura per la sussistenza di questo impero, si avvidde che tolto il principal baloardo della Crimea dovevasi riconoscer come vacillante il suo destino. Allarmatasi percio spedì a questa corte un copioso numero di officiali tutti pagati dalla corte stessa d'ogni genere e professione per introdur ordine disciplina e scienza tra li Turchi, per renderli atti ad resistere alli attaci delli loro nemici.

† Garzoni: ne' siti ch'erano affatto esposti ed abandonati. Compare Andressy, Voyage à l'embouchure de la Mer-noire, 115, 319.

have been termed, of Constantinople—and at the entrance itself they raised a battery. Their intention was entirely to change the whole system of Turkish fortification.

To these attempts the Sultan Selim united his own improvements, as soon as peace had been concluded. For the navy he purchased model-ships from England; but his shipwrights were mostly French; and, in a short time, the roadsteads of Sinope, Rhodes, and Constantinople were crowded with vessels.

The whole system of the artillery was remodelled: the dimensions of the French cannon were adopted, especially for field-pieces.

Another object was to prepare for the defence of the frontiers, by improving the fortresses,—for which purpose we find an English general employed at Ismael,—and especially by the formation of a corps of engineers. The Sultan frequently visited the College at Sulitze, which had been established for this purpose; he inspected the plans and instruments, and encouraged the pupils. Many excellent French books—a work by Vauban, for instance—were translated into the Turkish language, and printed; a French professor was appointed; and in the library might be found, among other French books, the Encyclopédie.*

Although all these proceedings were opposed to the inherent prejudices of Mussulmans, they allowed such things to pass, as not directly injurious to the institutions upon which their state was founded. Public attention, however, was aroused, when the Sultan undertook to reform his artillery (*topdschi*), a body closely connected with the Janissaries; and it soon became apparent that his improvements would not stop there.

It is related that a Russian prisoner, who was a Turk by birth, having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the Russian service, had trained a troop of renegades on the European system, orignally for the gratification of the Grand Vizier. Subsequently the Sultan himself attended at their parade, for the purpose of witnessing how the infidels were accus-

* Juchereau de S. Denys: Revolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808, i. p. 78. Macfarlane states that these reports have been confirmed to him.

tomed to fight; and on reviewing the troop, was highly prepossessed in favour of the system.*

Omer was the name of this Ottoman Lefort, who for some time commanded the band of the Tufenkdschi, which he had formed.

Omer Aga's success confirmed the Sultan in his intention of introducing the European military exercise in the Turkish army; and, in the first instance, amongst the regular infantry, the Janissaries.

A Venetian narrative positively assures us, that in the year 1793, the subject was earnestly canvassed in the Divan.†

What would have been the consequence of the execution of this project is evident.

The Janissaries considered their posts as hereditary; they appeared in the ranks only on the days of receiving their pay; in the towns which they garrisoned they at the same exercised authority, and carried on trade. To lead these troops back to the purpose for which they were originally established, and to subject them to the restraint of European discipline, was an undertaking not only of infinite difficulty, but also of the greatest political importance.

In an empire whose entire position was founded on conquest and forcible occupation, and depended directly upon the superiority of the army, every military change must necessarily be at the same time a political one.

And the Janissaries certainly formed an important link in the chain of the old Ottoman system, both for war and peace.

Moreover, in all other departments extensive changes were proposed. The great fiefs which had become hereditary were to be abolished, and their revenues, on the death of the then occupiers, were to flow into the royal treasury, and be expended in the payment of other troops. The Pacha was no longer to be the lord of his province; his appointment was to continue only three years, and was not to be renewed unless he had exerted himself to give satisfaction to the people over whom he ruled. Another scheme was suggested,

* Survey of the Turkish Empire, 1798, p. 99. Compare Ohsson, VII. 371.

† Niccolo Foscarini: Il divisamento pure di rendere addestrati i Gianizzeri negli escercizi militari occupava i pensieri del consiglio.

which, had it been carried into effect, would have given altogether a different form to the whole of this system. Its object was to abolish all farming of the taxes, and to introduce an administration of the revenues of the State by officers of the government.

The power of the Vizier had already been restrained. The Divan now resembled, in form, an European Privy Council of State :* it consisted of twelve superior officers, whom the Grand Vizier was bound to consult on all important questions. One member of the Divan was especially appointed to collect certain indirect imposts, to be applied to the maintenance of the newly-raised troops ; whose number was gradually increased by cavalry, and who formed altogether a considerable body.

It is unnecessary to speak further concerning the progress of these changes. In course of time, we may probably be enabled to obtain a knowledge of the work of Nuri, the historiographer of the empire, during those years in which, according to all accounts, the new regulations (Nizami Dschedid) were fully discussed. We shall then see the connexion of events more distinctly than it is at present possible to do, judging merely from the accounts of European travellers and ambassadors.

It will here suffice to remark, how powerfully the exclusively Ottoman part of the Turkish Empire, the ruling body of religious warriors, was excited, from the very commencement of his reign, by the projects of Selim III., occasioned by the results of the last war.

The spirit of reform with which the eighteenth century was inspired, affected even Turkey.

In this respect, Selim III. may be compared with princes such as Gustavus III., Clement XIV., and Joseph II., or with statesmen like Pombal, Aranda, and Struensee : all more or less his contemporaries.

* Foscarini : La prima ed essentiale [innovazione del Sultano Selim] fu quella di diminuire la somma autorità del visirato con l'instituzione del nuovo consiglio di stato, in seguito—aumentato dal numero degli individui che lo compongono, e che lasciai in uno stato di somma attività, ed abbenchè possa dirsi che l'instituzione di esso consiglio abbia prodotto un esenziale cambiamento nella constituzione di quel governo, pareva a tutti probabile che sarebbe per continuarsi.

Having cited these names, it is needless to enlarge upon the dangers connected with undertakings of a revolutionary nature, both to the empire which they concern, and to the persons who venture to introduce them.

In Turkey, these dangers were of double force. The general commotion of the higher classes must, in return, promote the desire for independence amongst the subdued nations. Difficulties of quite a new character could not but arise from these changes; and in fact, they did arise. The whole modern history of Turkey turns upon these difficulties; and to them, also, the movement in Servia must be attributed.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGIN OF THE DISTURBANCES IN SERVIA.

The Janissaries of Belgrade.—The Dahis.—Ebu-Bekir, Pacha of Belgrade.—Assassination of the Aga, Deli Achmet.—Rise of Osman Passvan Oglu.—The Krdschalies.—Alexa Nenadovitsch, Grand Knes of Servia.—Pacha Hadji Mustafa.—Return of the Janissaries to Belgrade.—Murder of the Knes, Ranko.—Death of the Pacha.—The Dahis.—Tyranny of the Janissaries.—Unsuccessful Revolt.—Address of the Servian Kneses to the Grand Signior.—Threats of the Sultan against the Dahis.—Horrible Slaughter of the Servians by the Dahis.

Of all the Janissaries of the empire, none were more opposed to the Sultan than those at Belgrade.

Besides practising manifold other abuses which prevailed here as well as elsewhere, the Janissaries had entered into a sort of conflict with the rest of the Turkish population, the Pachas, and the Spahis; and it appeared as though they would inevitably acquire, by violent means, a tyrannical dominion over the country, to the exclusion of others of their countrymen. Their commanders already designated themselves Dahis, after the example of the Deys of Barbary; who had, in like manner, in a contest with the Pachas, been raised to power from amongst the mutinous troops: such had also been the case more recently at Tripoli.*

* Wahl, Encyclopædia, I. xxiv. 351, observes that the word Dahi

By the side of the Agas of the Janissaries—such as Achmet, who, on account of his courage, was surnamed Deli-Achmet, and who commanded a force of one thousand men—a Pacha appeared insignificant; and it is known that the Emperor Joseph preferred entering into arrangements with the Agas rather than with the Pachas. Shortly before the commencement of the war, Mahomet Ali Seimovitsch and fourteen other Spahis were murdered by the Janissaries of Achmet, and no one had ventured to call him to account for the act; indeed, notwithstanding this, he made his appearance at Kiupria, in the Turkish army destined for the deliverance of Belgrade: which city, however, was neither delivered by his assistance, nor defended by his comrades.

After Belgrade had been given back to the Turks, through the intervention of the European powers, the Sultan determined, in this city at least, to rid himself of these troublesome claimants to a share in his power.

Ebu Bekir, the new Pacha appointed to Belgrade, was provided with a firman, which commanded the Janissaries to quit the town, and the entire Pachalic. However, on the very first occasion that offered for enforcing it, they maintained their ground so determinedly, that this order could be executed only by stratagem and violence. Before Ebu Bekir could venture even to publish the firman, it was necessary for him to get rid of their most powerful Chief. When he arrived on the frontier of the Pachalic, at Nisch, the Spahis hastened to welcome him; the other former proprietors of the country also appeared there, and Deli-Achmet amongst them. But the latter was surrounded by so numerous a suite, that they dared not, at that time, seize him. It was only as he was ascending the stairs to a second audience, with but few attendants, that they ventured to attack him; and, even then, only as base assassins: a servant of the Pacha's, who lay concealed, shot him from behind. The firman was then immediately published and enforced.

The Spahis again enjoyed the benefit of their tithes, and of their Glavnitza; and the Servians who had emigrated, now resumed their former property, and could more confidently reckon on the observance of the stipulations which

signified a *Superior* even at the time of the ancient republic of Mecca, and afterwards amongst the Ismaelites.

had been made in their favour. The possessions of the Janissaries, on the other hand, were considered as forfeited to the Crown; and they themselves sought refuge in the neighbouring districts.

It could not be otherwise: only by artifice and bloodshed could the proposed measures be carried out!

It excites little surprise, to find that the parties who had been thus chastised, resisted, and were supported by those who participated in their claims. The revolt of Passvan Oglu, at Viddin, which occurred at that time, proved of especial advantage to the Janissaries: though it cannot be proved, with certainty, that his revolt originated with them.

It appears that Osman Passvan Oglu first distinguished himself at the head of a troop of volunteers, in the war of 1788; and he afterwards took forcible possession of his hereditary estates, from which his father had been expelled.

There were, besides, other warriors with whom he allied himself: bands of soldiers called Krdschalies, who, after the peace, had been dismissed from the service of the Porte, but had no wish on that account to relinquish the trade of war. In Macedonia and Bulgaria, they rendered the country unsafe: readily offering their service, on every occasion, when a pacha was engaged in dispute with the Grand Signior, or a province with its pacha; or, failing such occupation, they would plunder on their own account, and levy contributions. When they had destroyed Moscopolis (or Boscopolis), one of the principal towns of Macedonia, the other towns hastened to make terms with them by paying a sort of tribute. It was their pride to ride along on stately horses, with trappings of gold and silver, and bearing costly arms. In their train were female slaves, Giuvendi, in male attire, who not only served to amuse them in their hours of ease, with singing and dancing, but also followed them to battle, for the purpose of holding their horses when they fought on foot. As these troops had never any religious worship, they received all comers, whether Christians or Mahometans. Like other soldiers, they were under the regular command of their bimbaschas, leaders of a thousand, and buljukbaschas, officers of inferior rank. To any one who aimed at establishing his power by force of arms they were welcome, and he to them.

Passvan Oglu was in strict alliance with these bands. He addressed them thus: "the booty be yours, and mine the glory!" After having for some time suffered a Pacha to be associated with him in the province, he at length expelled his superior, and demanded the three horse-tails for himself. He maintained ten thousand of the Krdschalies with him in Viddin.

At the same time it must be allowed, that, in demanding the restoration of his hereditary fiefs, he had stood forward as the opponent of all innovations. He received the Janissaries, who were driven out of Servia; had his name entered in their lists, and made their cause his own.

Perhaps his motive for this conduct might be traced to the fact, that the commander of the Janissaries at Viddin held the highest rank amongst all their Serhad-Agas; in remembrance of Turnadschi-Baschi; whom, in former times, Bajazet I. had installed there with the 68th Orta of the Dschemaat. This name was thenceforth retained as an hereditary title.*

Moreover, a good opportunity was offered to an ambitious leader, by the spirit of opposition to the new regulations, which were soon regarded, by the Turkish population, as contrary to religion: thus it became necessary to prove, by a legal document, that the use of bayonets and light artillery was not contrary to the Koran.

Olivier, who then lived at Constantinople, assures us that the Janissaries of that city had formally refused to take the field aganst Passvan.†

It was in vain that the Porte, in 1798, sent another army, composed of European and Asiatic troops, against Passvan. He is reported to have said that, he might have raised a hundred thousand men, but preferred to conquer them with ten thousand: and the smaller number was undoubtedly to his advantage. Amongst the Pachas advancing against him, there was little concord: and he could avail himself of a favourable moment with unimpaired power. On one occasion,

* Ohsson, VII. p. 310.

† Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman. Les soldats disaient hautement, qu'ils ne feraient jamais la guerre à un Mussulman qui n'avait selon eux d'autres torts que celui de vouloir empêcher que l'on ne portât atteinte à leurs droits.

when a long-continued fall of rain had reduced his opponents, who were encamped under temporary barracks and tents, to a very distressed state, the Krdschalies, who had remained fresh and vigorous, in a well-provided town, sallied out and put the enfeebled enemy to flight. From that time Passvan Oglu was exceedingly dreaded by his neighbours, far and near.

At different times he was master of Czernetz, Nicopel, and Kraiova; and when, now and then, he lost either of those places, it was only through the greatest efforts of the Turks and Wallachians. Many people fled from the Lesser Wallachia to Transylvania; others, suspected of being in alliance with him, were punished for the crime.* In Bulgaria, everything got into confusion, and general animosity was excited. At length the Porte resolved to make peace, and actually sent Passvan the three horse-tails! The fate of Servia was, in many ways, connected with these occurrences.

Ebu Bekir, and his successor, Hadji Mustafa, who kept the Janissaries at a distance, administered the affairs of the country in a manner directly opposed to their system of violence. The Rayahs dwelt in peace: happy at length to be ruled by mild and equitable laws. The country flourished, and became rich—by the same means that prevailed in England and in Germany before the clearing away of the large forests: by the breeding of swine. It has been remarked that Servia gained annually 1,300,000 florins (£130,000 sterling) by its commerce with Austria alone. Hadji Mustafa evinced so much jealous care of the country, that he has been called Srpska Maika, the Servian mother.

It was no disparagement to any one to have served in the Free Corps under the Emperor of Austria; and Alexa Nenadovitsch, who had held the rank of officer therein, was made Grand Knes. When Passvan Oglu, urged perhaps by the Janissaries, began to threaten Servia, he took Kladovo, and endeavoured to make himself master of the island of Poretsch. In this emergency Hadji Mustafa did not hesitate to call the Servians themselves to arms; he represented to them that it would be much better to sell part of their

* Engel, Geschichte der Walachei, ii. 67. Concerning Passvan Oglu, he refers to Seetzen in Zach's Monthly Correspondence, August, 1803, whose information, however, is scanty.

cattle, and provide themselves with arms out of the proceeds, than to be stripped of everything by the enemy. Many arms had remained in the country since the last war; and the people now gladly brought them forth. The spirit which had been aroused under Austria, acquired renewed vigour under the command of a Turkish Pacha; and the Kneses themselves equipped a force, whose Bimbascha, Stanko Arambaschitsch, the son of a robber-chief, established a name for himself. Supported by the Turks, but by no means under their control, the Servians were again victorious. Stanko did not give precedence to the Turkish leaders of this army; and by prompt retaliation he avenged the act of one of them, who had cut down a prisoner. The Pachas and the country were united: for their common interest was at stake; and Passvan Oglu and his allies, the Janissaries, were successfully opposed.

It may now be asked, how it happened, that the Porte was induced, not only to come to a friendly understanding with Passvan Oglu, but even to accept an arrangement proposed in favour of the Janissaries, who had been driven from Belgrade. The truth is, the pride of the Mussulmans revolted at the idea that old Moslems, of the True Faith, should be banished from a Pachalic, whilst the Christian subjects therein were allowed to rise in importance: indeed, the Mufti gave it as his opinion that it was against the law to drive the Faithful from their possessions in favour of the Rayahs. Upon this the Divan ordered the Pacha to re-admit the Janissaries; though they had been exiled by a firman, and had joined a rebel in open insurrection. Hadji Mustafa would have placed himself in opposition to his legitimate government, and exposed himself to severe punishment, had he resisted the order: the Janissaries accordingly returned.

We may easily anticipate the consequences of this measure: it proved the origin of much mischief.

At first the Janissaries did not press the Pacha for the restoration of their property; nor did they threaten him with violence; and they were satisfied with appointments in the Custom Houses or about the Court. Soon, however, they began to act as in former times; and as might have been expected, the Rayahs were the first to be made sensible of the change.

In Svileuva, in the district of Schabaz, lived a man of irreproachable character, named Ranko, Grand Knes of his Kneshina. At a time when the Poresa was to be apportioned, a Janissary of Schabaz, Bego Nowlianin, required of Ranko to increase its amount in his favour, by some hundreds of piastres. This demand shows in what position they already stood. Ranko had the courage to refuse the claim, but the Janissary determined to be revenged for his refusal. He did not venture to interfere with the Knes in the village; but the first time that Ranko appeared at Schabaz, Bego Nowlianin, with some of his comrades, followed him into a tavern, and there shot him. The Pacha, however, determined that such a proceeding should not go unpunished; nor would he allow the former disorderly state of affairs to be renewed. The Janissary having meanwhile, with daily increasing adherents, made himself master of the fortress of Schabaz, Hadji Mustafa despatched a small body of troops, 600 strong, and besieged him there; but Bego Nowlianin saved himself by flight, and took refuge in Bosnia. The exertions which the Pacha had made to punish this Janissary, drew upon him the rage and hatred of the whole body.

It was probably at their instigation that Passvan Oglu renewed his hostilities against the Pachalic. To defend the frontiers, the Pacha was under the necessity of sending his best troops, consisting of Turks and Servians, commanded by his own son, Dervish Beg, into the field. This was precisely what the Janissaries wished. They seized the favourable moment, made themselves master of Belgrade, and besieged the Pacha in the Upper Castle. There he would have been able to hold out, until the return of his son, whom he had immediately apprised of his position, had not a Buljukbascha of his Krdschalies—for the Pacha also had some of those troops under his command—been gained over by the Janissaries, to whom the traitor gave admission through a drain that led into the fortress. On the very day that Dervish Beg arrived, with his army, in Grozka, close to Belgrade, his father had been made prisoner. Hadji Mustafa was compelled, by the Janissaries, to order his troops to a distance; and scarcely had the Servians dispersed, and the Turks proceeded to Nisch, than he was slain in the fortress. The Janissaries informed the Porte: "Hadji Mustafa had been a

false Turk, who had sided with the Rayahs, and had now received his reward."

They begged for a new Pacha—not that it was their intention to obey him better: they had committed murder in order to get the power into ther own hands. Four chiefs of the Janissaries—Fotschitsch-Mahomet Aga, Aganlia, Mula-Jussuf, and Kutschuk-Ali, shared the supreme authority amongst themselves. They re-assumed the title of Dahi. To each of them a certain part of the country was allotted; yet they continued to hold councils together at Belgrade, whence they exercised a common power. The dissensions which now so frequently arose, were always appeased by the father of Mahomet Aga, the old Fotscho. To the new Pacha, Aga Hassan, the Dahis left only as much authority as they themselves judged advisable. They fixed and raised the Poresa, and other imposts, and established a new system of government. The Janissaries by whom they were surrounded sufficed not for their purposes; therefore they collected another armed power around them. When the Bosnians and Albanians heard of the success of the Janissaries, they flocked to Belgrade in great numbers; half-naked men, and such as had previously borne burthens, now rode on Arabian steeds, attired in velvet, gold, and silver: haughty in their bearing towards all, and completely submissive to their masters alone. This force was employed not so much as a military body, as to carry into execution the orders of the Janissaries.

The Dahis sent their comrades of the highest rank, especially such as were Janissaries, into the provincial towns, under the denomination of Kabadahis, where they drew the reins of authority tighter than ever: assuming, in every respect, the air of masters; for no Kadi would have dared to utter a word in opposition to their will. In the villages, Subasches appeared as executors of the judicial and magisterial power. These men, frequently taken from the Bosnian rabble, exercised the power of life and death, and enriched themselves by the hard toil of the peasant whom they lived upon. They would fly to meet their masters at a moment's notice. The system resembled that which was followed in Egypt, where the Mamelukes united at Cairo had appropriated the country, according to its districts, amongst themselves, and ruled it by means of their Kiaschefs; caring little

for the authority of the Pacha, who had been sent from Constantinople.

But in Servia they went even further. Perhaps the greatest difference between the two bodies was, that the Janissaries aimed at establishing themselves as lords of the soil. Under the title of *Tschitluksahibis*, they claimed the actual proprietorship of the land, and from time to time built themselves stately country houses. Besides the former taxes, they demanded the ninth part of the earth's produce, and forced the inhabitants to perform feudal service. Such of the Spahis as would not come to terms with them, were expelled.

An evil now arose which, through the influence of the old regulations of the empire, had hitherto been carefully avoided. The land and the people appeared as the property of certain individuals; and it almost seemed as though a general system of usurpation were about to be established in all these provinces. In the same manner had Passvan Oglu established his authority; from him had originated the introduction of the Subasches. In Bosnia, Alibeg Vidaitsch, of Svornik, proceeded to similar enterprises: he marched through the villages, caused the people to be bound, and then made them admit, in writing, that they had sold their territory to him. Provided with this title-deed, he constituted himself Tschitluksahibi, and appointed Subasches in the villages. The league of independent chiefs, who had taken possession of Servia, was on the closest terms of union with both these parties. As the Dahis under Passvan Oglu had done service, in like manner Alibeg came to Belgrade to be received into their community.

In opposition to the new regulations of the Sultan, the intention of which was to place the power of the government in the hands of one person, a system, of a tendency directly contrary, was forming itself in Servia; it was based upon abuses and personal violence, which it had been the aim of the Sultan to abolish; and woe to the man who should venture to oppose the usurping chiefs within their own territories. The conduct of Alibeg Vidaitsch excited the jealousy of his own relations, and they induced the district of Spretcha to revolt against him. But with some assistance from the Dahis, he was sufficiently powerful to maintain his ground,

and to punish the insurgents. Plundering and war-levies, imprisonments and stranglings, were henceforth the order of the day.

In the district of Belgrade, an old officer of Hadji Mustafa's, Asam Beg, formerly Defterkiaja, legal adviser to the chamber, determined, with the aid of his friends and the Spahis, supported by the Rayahs, to revolt against the Dahis. He had already procured ammunition, and was distributing it amongst the people, when one of his confederates—his own brother—prematurely commenced the attack, and the whole scheme was frustrated. The consequence was, as is usual in unsuccessful insurrections, the oppression became still more severe. The Spahis were all under the necessity of leaving the country; and it was only on the frontiers that one of them might occasionally be seen, venturing, as a fugitive, into his village. The Subasches indulged in every sort of violence: frequently would they take from the peasant his festive garment, and use it as a covering for one of their horses; they disturbed the performance of divine service; they forced the women to dance the *Kolo* before their own houses, and then carried off those who were the most beautiful.

The natural barbarity of these people, who had once been exiled and were now again in possession of their property, was increased by a desire of vengeance. And as in a state of civil war, where the supreme authority is no longer regarded, anarchy prevailed.

The banished Spahis, indeed, claimed assistance from Constantinople. The Kneses, too, summoned sufficient resolution to assemble in a cloister, for the purpose of drawing up an address to the Grand Signior. They complained that they had been shamefully plundered by the Dahis, by whom they had been brought to such a state of poverty that they were obliged to clothe themselves with mere *bast;* yet that, nevertheless, their oppressors were not satisfied; that they were attacked in their religion, their morality, and their honour: no husband being secure in the possession of his wife, no father of his daughter, no brother of his sister. The church, the cloister, the monks, the priests, all were outraged. "Art thou still our Czar?" they demanded; "then come and free us from these evil-doers. Or if thou wilt not

save us, at least tell us so; that we may decide whether to flee to the mountains and forests, or to seek in the rivers a termination to our miserable existence."

Their prayers did not remain unheeded. Ibrahim Aga, who had been wounded by his nephew Alibeg Vidaitsch and Asam, the leaders of an insurrection which had failed, had both fled to Constantinople, where they seconded the complaints of the people. But this apparent success led only to greater disasters. It seemed as though the Grand Signior had nothing left to him but threats, by which to favour the cause of his subjects. He intimated to the Dahis, that, unless they changed their conduct, he would send an army against them; not, however, a Turkish army—for it would be a grievous thing for the faithful to fight against the faithful—but soldiers of other nations, and of another creed; and that such evil should then befall them as had never yet befallen a Turk.

On this intimation, the Dahis asked one another—"What army the Grand Signior could allude to—Austrians or Russians? It could not be believed that he would invite foreigners into the empire." "By Allah!" they exclaimed, "he mean sthe Rayahs!" They became convinced that he would send Dervish Beg, the son of Mustafa, or Asam Beg, to lead the Servians against them, under their Kneses and chiefs. To prevent this, they resolved to go into the Nahis, and put to death all such as might prove dangerous to them.

It was in February, 1804, that the Dahis commenced this work of horror, each one in his own division of the country. At first, their design was accomplished without difficulty: as soon as either they or their Bailiffs entered a village, the inhabitants, as usual, advanced to meet them, to supply them with food, or to take charge of their horses; this offered them a convenient opportunity for seizing whomsoever they chose. They were not satisfied with getting rid of the Kneses and the Kmetes, but every person of any consideration, whether it had been acquired by military prowess, eloquence, or wealth, was put to death. The first they killed was the Knes Stanoie, of Begalitza; then were slain Mark Tscharapitsch, Stephen of Seoke, and Theophan of Oraschie, near Smederevo, all of whom were Kneses; the former Buljukbasches, Janko Gagitsch of Boletsch, and Matthias of

Kragujevaz, and the Igumen of the Cloister Moravzi, Hadji Gero : for even the sacred office afforded no protection.

A short time previously, the Archimandrite Ruvim had fled from the Cloister Bogovadja. Alexa Nenadovitsch, who was suspected of being the writer of a letter to Austria, describing the insupportable misery of the country, which had fallen into the hands of the Turks, had charged the authorship of the letter upon the Archimandrite ; who, he considered, would be safe, by reason of his absence. In an unfortunate hour, however, the Archimandrite now returned. Alexa apprized him of the danger in which his life was placed. Ruvim answered—"Alexa knows not the misery of a foreign land and a strange house : it is now his turn to experience them." They both hoped to get over the danger : Alexa because he had been assured that the letter was no longer ascribed to him ; Ruvim because his nephew, a painter, worked in the house of a Dahi. However, they were both murdered, although they were among the chief men of the nation : Alexa, by Fotschitsch : and Ruvim, after horrible tortures, by Aganlia. Afterwards followed the murder of the Kneses, Elias Birtschanin, Peter of Ressava, Raiza of Sabrdie, and many others—alas ! who could enumerate them all ? Horror prevailed throughout the country. Men knew not who were doomed. The belief gained ground that it was intended to extirpate the entire population. Even the poorest feared for his life. In the villages, none but old men and children went forth to meet the Turks. The able-bodied fled to the mountains—into the hiding-places of the Heyducs.

CHAPTER VII.

INSURRECTION AGAINST THE DAHIS.

Reaction among the Peasantry.—Divisions of Servia.—Meetings of the Servian Chiefs.—Kara George.—The Heyducs.—Veliko.—Jacob Nenadovitsch.—The Heyduc Kjurtshia.—Rapid Progress of the Insurrection.—Kara George is elected Commander of the Servians.—Affray between the Dahis and the Raya Gushanz Ali and the Krdschalies.—Defeat of the Turks.—Attack of Belgrade by the Army of the Schumadia.—Slaughter of a Troop of Heyducs.—Jacob Nenadovitsch and Kara George take the Fortress of Poscharevaz.—The Pacha of Bosnia joins the Servians.—Flight of the Dahis.—They are put to death by the Servians.

THERE are degrees even in the subjugation of a people. Since the death of Stephan Dushan, we have beheld the Servians falling, step by step; losing their political independence abroad, and at home deprived of all participation in public affairs both in Church and State. Every moment of transient liberty has been followed by some new deprivation. Truly man can endure much! Every measure has been succeeded by one more severe than the last. After the brief relaxation the Servians had enjoyed under Austria, and the condition in which they had been for a few years, all saw themselves threatened with death or personal slavery under usurping despots. We know that a national spirit in these people—a sense, too, of their own importance, had been aroused and strengthened in the last wars; and especially in their successful enterprises against these same Janissaries by whom they were now doomed to destruction. The period had now arrived which was to decide whether they were to remain a nation or to be annihilated: and the consciousness of this aroused them to exertion.

Reflecting, at a later period, on their history, we are impressed with the idea, that, from this time, the national development opened out for itself a new course.

The peasants and shepherds, who had now fled from their homes into the mountains, at first only thought how they might return to them without being in fear for their lives.

But to effect this they must commence a war throughout the country, and, by their own exertions, extinguish an authority which was exercised in a manner so tyrannical. They were one and all determined to do so.

The country, as it descends towards the Danube and the Save, forms three divisions. Of these the central division is the most important—especially the forest region, called Schumadia. This division is separated from the others: on one side by the broad and frequently inundated valley of the Morava, and on the other by the Kolubara—at its commencement a torrent, and farther on flowing through extensive tracts of morass. In each of these divisions, the movement originated with different leaders.

First, in the Schumadia, there was a meeting of three chiefs: George Petrovitsch, called by the Turks Kara George, Janko Katitsch, and Vasso Tscharapitsch. The first had escaped at the very moment designed for his seizure. He was in the act of collecting together his herd of swine, which he had bought for the purpose of selling in Austria—for that was his calling,—one of the most profitable and respectable employments in the country — when he perceived the approach of the Turks, who were seeking him. He left his swine to take their own way, and fled into the forests with the herdsmen whom he had hired for his business. He had served in the volunteer corps, had afterwards become Heyduc, and was considered one of the most enterprising men in the country; as he was also one of the richest.

Katitsch, the second of these chiefs, had, as Buljukbascha against Passvan Oglu, acquired a knowledge of the art of war, and had become acquainted with those who were capable of taking arms. He was prudent, eloquent, and brave.

Vasso, the third, was eager to revenge the death of his brother, Mark Tscharapitsch.

They were determined not to wait till they should have to suffer death, chained by the hangmen and grooms of the Dahis, but to seek it boldly as free men. They were joined by numbers: all men who accounted it a sin to die without taking an enemy with them. Their unanimous determination was, to sell life for life. The Heyducs also eagerly

joined them. The most noted of these were Glavasch and Veliko. Veliko had served, during the winter, as herdsman, and, as such, had taken a wife. Now he resumed his arms and his Heyduc's dress. "Woe is me!" exclaimed his wife, as she saw him thus equipped, "I have married a robber!" He consoled her by replying that, "now every man had become a robber," and departed to seek his companions.

A numerous and resolute band of Heyducs and fugitives, at the commencement of hostilities, attacked the village of Sibnitza, in the district of Belgrade, of which Katitsch and Tscharapitsch were natives. They fired the house of the Subascha, killed and plundered the Turks whom they found, and carried off with them all the Servians capable of bearing arms. Couriers were despatched in all directions; every one who could carry a gun was ordered to join one of the armed bands; the houses of the Subasches were to be destroyed; the women and children were to be brought into the barricades on the mountains. And this was done. Any man who was unwilling to join them was forcibly compelled.

At this news, the country on the further side of the Kolubara also rose. Jacob Nenadovitch—who, as a song records, had been charged by his brother Alexa, in his dying moments, to revenge his death—most distinguished himself. Luka Lasarevitsch, the brother of Ranko, regardless that he was a priest and wore a beard, took up arms. Of the Heyducs in this district, none was so dreaded as Kiurtschia. He was a most expert marksman. The first shot which he had ever fired, hit the target: a feat which many a Turk had fruitlessly essayed. For this superiority, the Turks conceived such a hatred against him, that they attempted to kill him, and obliged him to flee into the mountains. He now came down, and carried the standard before Jacob, who, for the first time, took the field.

About the same time, a movement took place amongst the people on the further side of the Morava. Amongst these was Milenko, of Klitschevaz, an acquaintance of Katitsch ever since the war against Passvan Oglu: a man naturally inclined to peace, yet not so much so as to be blind to the danger in which he stood on account of his authority and wealth. At the same time rose Peter Theo-

dorovitsch Dobrinjaz, with whom he long remained united by the ties of mutual interest.

In all the three districts, the Turks had been simultaneously driven from the villages. Nor did the conquerors long refrain from attacking the small towns, called Palanks; where they encountered no resistance. They first took Rudnik, and burned it; then other towns in succession: the Turkish population hastened to take refuge in the fortified places.

Thus commenced the insurrection of the Servians. In a moment, as it were, the whole country—the twelve Nahis, the villages and Palanks—was in the hands of men who, but a short time before, had seemed doomed to extermination.

The Servians now said one to another—"Every house has a chief: the nation, also, ought to know whom it has to follow." In an assembly of the chiefs of the Schumadia, Glavasch, who had been the most active in the expulsion of the Turks, was first proposed; but he replied: "The nation would never have confidence in a Heyduc, as he was, who had neither a house, nor a field, nor anything, in fact, to lose." Their choice then fell upon the Knes Theodosi, of Oraschie, in the district of Kragujevaz. "God be with you!" said he; "what are you thinking of? The Knes might obtain a pardon for a Heyduc; but who is to take care of the Kneses if the Turks come back?"

Since the Heyducs did not sufficiently enjoy the confidence of the country, and the Kneses were unwilling to place their unwarlike character at stake, it only remained to elect some one who had been a Heyduc, and who had also pursued a peaceful calling—the army being composed of these two classes. In this position was Kara George. He was proposed by Theodosi. Kara George excused himself at first, on the ground that "he did not understand how to govern." The Kneses replied "that they would give him counsel." To this he rejoined, that "his impetuosity rendered him unfit for the office: that he could not wait to consult, but should be inclined to kill at once." He was assured that "such severity was at that time requisite."

Thus Kara George became commander of the Servians:*

* He had the words *Commendant Serbie* engraven on his seal; and only at a later period styled himself Supreme Leader (Werhowni woschd).

not, indeed, with the authority of a prince over the country, nor even with that of a general over the army; for he had many equals around him, and it was only in the Schumadia that he was properly considered as chief. However, as that was the largest district, it enabled him to gain a preponderating influence over the other districts also.

As yet the power of the Dahis was rather defied and endangered, than actually destroyed. They were still in possession of the fortresses, and as the occupiers of these places of defence had always ruled the country, the Dahis entertained a notion that the Rayahs might be pacified by promises, and would come to terms with them. The Rayahs, however, felt themselves too powerful; and cruelties of too horrible a nature had been perpetrated, for such an arrangement any longer to be possible.

At the very first meeting of the two parties in Drlupa, whilst the chiefs were holding a conference, their attendants had already come to blows, and did not separate until blood had been shed. Somewhat later, Fotschitsch tried his fortune; but with the same ill success. When at length the Metropolitan Leonti—who was hated by the Servians almost as much as the Turks themselves were—came with new offers from Belgrade, he was told, positively, that unless the Dahis were given up, no peace could be hoped for.

Meanwhile a troop of one thousand Krdschalies, attracted by the first news of the breaking out of disturbances, appeared on the frontier of the country, under their leader, Guschanz Ali. They would not have been unwilling to make common cause with the Servians; but the latter had no wish to have Turks amongst them, with whose name they almost inseparably connected the idea of masters. The Dahis, however, dared not hesitate. Howsoever hazardous it might be to admit into their capital a partisan whose character was not too respectable, necessity compelled them to do so; and by assigning Guschanz his quarters in the Wratschar, outside the actual town, they considered that sufficient provision had been made for their own safety.

Assistance, of a less suspicious character, however, came to the Dahis in the open field. Their Bosnian friend, Alibeg Vidaitsch, was ready to repay to them the service which they had rendered him a year before. He advanced with an

army, composed of men who neither themselves doubted nor suffered a doubt to remain upon the mind of their chief, that they should be able completely to crush this rebellion of the Servians. When this army marched through Losnitza, many a one was heard to ask, whether these were the same Servians who were wont, upon former occasions (though fifty of them, armed, were conducting a bride to the wedding), so soon as they saw a Turk, to hide their pistols under their mantles, or dismount from their horses? And now a single Turk would have been intimidated by fifty of them!

Alibeg did not consider it worth his while to take the field, in person, against enemies so contemptible; he therefore remained, according to the custom of the Viziers, at Schabaz, and left the Subasches to lead his army to the chastisement of the rebels. But the Servians, who were not now for the first time in the field, knew how to meet their foes. They had the prudence and adroitness, as the enemy advanced, to abandon the entrenchments which they were just then raising in Svileuva, but which were not yet tenable. The Turks, who perhaps ascribed this retreat to fear, did not hesitate to occupy them. The Servians then instantly returned, and surrounded the fortifications; and by this means at once obtained the superiority. Hemmed in, and without provisions—threatened with certain destruction from the unceasing firing and the continuous reinforcement of fresh troops—the Turks at last declared that their intention had not been to fight: that they had come only to ascertain the state of affairs. Hereupon, the Bosnians were allowed to disperse; but when the troops by whom they had been accompanied from Belgrade endeavoured to pass out with them, their departure was violently opposed; and the consequence was, that not one man in ten of either party escaped.

With their opinions altogether changed, the survivors returned through Losnitza. Their report was, "that every Servian had carried with him a broad stake or plank, with which he protected himself as with a shield, and as he advanced planted it in the ground; then, stationing himself behind it, he fired under the shelter thus afforded, so incessantly and with such rapidity, that it seemed as though he had only to thrust his hand into a sackful of ammunition,

and throw balls at his foes." The Moslems of this district sent their women and children over the Drina.

Still further encouraged by their success, the Servians no longer hesitated to assail their enemies in the fortresses. The army of the Schumadia attacked Belgrade; Jacob Nenadovitsch encamped before Schabaz, on the farther side of the Kolubara; and, beyond the Morava, Milenko's force threatened Poscharevaz, which had been hastily fortified by the Dahis.

Shortly after, the Servians, who were besieging Schabaz, were again menaced by Bosnia.

A Kabadahi of the Dahis, named Noschina, who had, previously to the insurrection, gone upon a visit to his friends in Bosnia, now despairing of being able to make his way back, even with the fourscore stately Krdschalies who were with him, assembled a thousand men; not only to make sure of fighting his way through the force which besieged Schabaz, but also with the design of dispersing it. Before he could effect this, however, he must overpower about two hundred Heyducs; who, under the command of Kiurtschia, were posted near the cloister of Tschokeshina. The smallness of their numbers, even after Jacob had brought them a slight reinforcement, caused Kiurtschia to despair of being able to defend the cloister. "A cloister burnt to the ground," said he, "we may rebuild, but a dead man we cannot bring to life again." Jacob understood better, that was not a question of the walls of a cloister, but of the continuation of the siege of one of the most important fortresses. "Thinkest thou," he replied to the Heyduc, "that the seed of mankind will perish with thee?" Kiurtschia turned away enraged, abandoned the cloister, and went into the mountains.

Nor could Jacob persuade the others to undertake the defence of the walls. They were accustomed to fight only in the forests and the mountains. "They would not," they said, "remain blocked up, awaiting death like women." However, they resolutely determined to wait upon a neighbouring height for their enemies, who were, perhaps, five times as numerous as themselves,—a Thermopylæ of Servian Heyducs! It must not be supposed that they thus calmly awaited death without a prospect of relief; Jacob had gone

to obtain further assistance; but, before he could return, all was decided. The Heyducs, surrounded on their hill, fought with the utmost courage from morning to night; until they had expended all their powder, and their guns, from the frequent discharges, had become almost unserviceable. Many had been killed, and the rest, already wounded and crouching behind trees, fired only now and then. In the evening, the Turks, reinforced by fresh numbers, attacked them with renewed vigour, and killed every one of these brave men. But they had not died in vain: Noschina had gained possession of the hill; yet, in doing this, he sustained so heavy a loss, that he could not hope to effect anything for the relief of Schabaz. On the contrary, just at that time Schabaz was so hardly pressed—Jacob Nenadovitsch having, to the no small increase of his reputation, though at a high price, procured a piece of ordnance—that it was the first of the fortresses to consent to a treaty. Even before Jacob had returned from Tschokeshina, it was surrendered to his nephew, the son of Alexa, the Prota (arch-priest). The condition was, that all the violent partisans of the Dahis in their despotism were to leave the country: the others were allowed to remain, but they might not enter the Nahia.

Jacob and Kara George now appeared before Poscharevaz, to assist Milenko; bringing with them the gun Jacob had with such difficulty obtained, and the men who were no longer required at Schabaz, as well as those who could be temporarily spared from Belgrade. No sooner did the garrison of that fortress find themselves cannonaded, than they asked to be allowed to evacuate the place in safety. This was granted; but only on their delivering up to the chiefs their best Arabian horses, and the trappings, which were most beautifully adorned with silver.

The victorious army now proceeded to Smederevo. The Turks were forced to pledge themselves not to enter the Nahia, and moreover to conform strictly to such regulations as should be agreed upon at Belgrade. Before that city the Servians now concentrated all their forces. From the Save to the Danube the whole country was covered by their troops: Jacob was encamped close by the Save, and Tscharapitsch near the Danube; between the two were George and Katitsch, each in his own encampment. Kiurtschia also—

who, after a short reconciliation, was again at variance with Jacob, on account of his distribution of the booty of Poscharevaz—joined them; but he formed a camp for himself, and raised his own banner.

He did not remain long, however; for, it appearing to him an act of insufferable interference that the commander-in-chief should have punished one of his followers; he thereupon struck his tents and marched off.

In his stead the Servians soon afterwards obtained an ally of quite a different character to assist them in the siege of Belgrade. The robber chieftain left them; the Pacha of Bosnia came to their aid.

His arrival was not altogether unexpected by the Servians. They were sufficiently acquainted with political affairs to be aware that the Dahis were by no means friends of the Grand Signior; and the banished Spahis constantly assured the Servians, that they rendered a service to the Sultan by fighting against the Dahis. Some trustworthy Turks had already joined their ranks; and a former Bimbascha of Hadji Mustafa had distributed ammunition amongst them, and encouraged them to take correct aim; saying that, "at each shot an enemy ought to fall." Even an old Turkish priest made his appearance in their camp; and to him is ascribed the authorship of a firman, in approbation of the undertaking, which was found posted up in the camp; though, in fact, it had never come from Constantinople. Although the Divan did not commit itself by any such unequivocal declaration, it could not long remain unknown how deeply the interest of the Grand Signior's whole government was connected with this conflict.

A commencement was thus made to the destruction of the power of the Janissaries, who prevented every general measure of the government from being carried out. The Grand Vizier conceived the judicious idea of making this insurrection of the people conduce towards a state of order, by allowing them to participate in the higher authority; which he thought would, at the same time, bring the affair to an end.

Whilst he allowed Asam Beg, who was still at Constantinople, to plead the cause of the exiled Spahis and assemble them around him, he appointed the Knes Johann Raschko-

vitsch—who happened at the time to be in the capital, purchasing provisions for the Servian army—to the office of Inspector of the Custom-house (Basergjanbaschi) at Belgrade. He at the same time ordered the Pacha of Bosnia, Bekir, to undertake the management of the whole affair: to banish the Dahis, and to restore peace.

Little can be said of what Asam Beg and Raschkovitsch effected; but Bekir's arrival, with three thousand men, from Bosnia, produced a decisive result. The Servians received him with every mark of respect. They sent their Kneses to meet him at the frontier of the country, and prepared quarters for him where he halted for the night; and in their camp he was greeted with a salute of guns. He encamped in the neighbourhood of the Wratschar, near the White Fountain, where the other chiefs were also encamped.

Bekir certainly found affairs somewhat different from what he had anticipated. He had come to Schabaz just when Kiurtschia, with his standard, had also arrived. An old Turk, on hearing the name of the well-known Heyduc, who now bore a standard, cried, "My beard has become white, and must I now for the first time see a robber's standard unfurled?" The displeasure and astonishment of Bekir were also excited by the appearance of the other troops. Instead of obedient Rayahs, he found before Belgrade an army well prepared for any resistance; its leaders in glittering attire, and arms which they had taken as booty from the Turks.

But whatever were his reflections on these surprises to the Dahis, it was a source of much alarm when they saw a Pacha in alliance with the Rayahs. It seemed a realization of what they had been threatened with: that an army of another faith should come against them under the Sultan's authority. But the greatest danger appeared in the fact, that their own mercenary, Guschanz Ali, was in open negotiation with both their enemies. When a confidential servant of Guschanz, pretending to have quarrelled with him, but without doubt acting under his instructions, informed them that his master had determined to let the besiegers in, they deemed it most advisable to escape with their remaining treasures: they therefore proceeded down the Danube in a caique to New Orschova. Guschanz immediately profited by their depar-

ture to make himself master of the citadel: nor did he hesitate to plunder the most distinguished inhabitants, under the pretext of their friendship for the Dahis. Of the Grand Signior, however, he entertained so profound an awe, that he received the Pacha of Bosnia into the town without any resistance.

Cowardly tyrants these Dahis unquestionably were; but their flight did not avail them. The Servians would not be satisfied until they had the heads of their foes laid at their feet; the Pacha therefore ordered the Commandant of Orschova to deliver up to the incensed populace the enemies of the Grand Signior. Accordingly one night some Servians, under Milenko, were admitted into the fortress. The Commandant pointed out to them a house, through the windows of which lights were seen; in it were the Dahis. The Servians attacked it; some shots were exchanged; and Milenko soon brought the heads of the four Dahis into the Servian camp.

Hereupon Bekir declared that everything now was done that could be desired; and he directed the Servians to return home to their flocks and their tillage.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE OPPOSITION AGAINST THE GRAND SIGNIOR.

Condition of Servia.—Insurrection in the Bosnian Districts.—Death of the Heyduc Kiurtschia.—Mehemet Kapetan, of Svornik.—The Servians determine to solicit the Aid of a Foreign Power.—Mediation of Russia.—Negotiations at Constantinople.—Servian Statement of the Expenses of the last War.—Operations in the Southern Districts.—Repulse of Kara George at Karanovaz.—Enterprises of Jacob Nenadovitsch and Milan Obrenovitsch.—Surrender of Uschize.—Political and Military Reforms in Turkey.—The Janissaries.—The Sultan Selim III arrests the Servian Deputies.—Afiz Pacha of Nisch is ordered to disarm the Rayahs.—Stephen Schivkovitsch excites the Servians to resist.—They oppose the Advance of Afiz.—His Retreat and Death.

THE Servians had not commenced their enterprise from a desire for innovation; they had not perhaps been incited to

it by an erroneous notion of attaining a state of perfection: urgent necessity, and actual danger of their lives, had compelled them to take up arms. They had risen against the open enemies of their sovereign. Nevertheless, it was demanding too much of them, that, having conquered their foes, they should return to their old condition.

The war was not even yet concluded.

Though the Dahis had perished, their system was by no means destroyed. Their Subasches and Kabadahis still held out in the southern fortresses of the Pachalic. In Uschize a certain Omer Aga, who had come from Widdin, out of the service of Passvan Oglu, and Bego Novljanin, a well-known character from Bosnia, had usurped a power as unrestrained as it was illegal. At Karanovaz, in the district of Poschega, the most violent of all the Subasches had found refuge.

Bekir was in error if he imagined that he had made himself master even of Belgrade. Guschanz Ali, who had opened the gates of the town to him, but kept the keys of the upper fortress for himself, impetuously demanded his pay, which he stated he had not received from the Dahis, notwithstanding he had defended the fortress against the Rayahs throughout the summer. Bekir in fact could not venture to leave Belgrade until the Servians had complied with the Vizier's entreaties to discharge a part of the arrears of the pay that had been earned by service against themselves.*

Nevertheless the Krdschalies did not give up the fortress.

* Their neighbours did not know how to interpret these matters. They spoke of a real treaty between Bekir and the Servians, and that at length Bekir had even gone over to the Servians. These reports they spread abroad.—(Bredow: Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century, 1804, page 347.) What further has been narrated is perhaps just as correct as the report that Bekir had hired a Turk to assassinate Kara George: the assassin, apparently wishing to communicate some important secret, approached the leader, fired his pistol at him, but only grazed his cheek. Of this so much is true, that Kara George had a scar on his cheek. But the fact was this: an Igumen of a cloister used to carry a club, which he had taken from a Turk. The Momkes of Kara George in vain requested the Igumen to give it to them. At last they called their master to their aid, who prepared to take the club from him by force. The Igumen, however, said, "From Scharkow (that was his name) not even the Turks have obtained anything by force," and drawing his sword, wounded Kara George in the face, whereupon Scharkow was killed by the Momkes.

They even broke into parties amongst themselves, and fought their quarrels out, without any one's having the power, or even making an effort, to prevent them. Redschep, the nephew of the commandant of New Orschova, and Guschanz Ali, both hoped some day to obtain the Pachalic; and they contended for it, until at length Guschanz succeeded in expelling his future rival. These disturbances prove to how slight an extent order had been re-established, and a durable state of things introduced.

But even had this been the case, the Servians could not have returned to their former condition. Was it likely that they, who now, for the third time, had come off victorious in conflict with the Turks, would still dismount from their horses, and conceal their weapons, before the men whose ancestors, centuries ago, had once conquered them? Should they now submit to perform every sort of menial service, whenever they entered those very towns which they themselves had just conquered? He who has victorious weapons in his hand will always claim power. The Servians no longer regarded the Pacha and the Spahis as their real chiefs, but obeyed as such, those who had led them to battle,—men who had created their own strength and authority; who were surrounded by partisans, called Momkes, ready for any service; and who were not disposed to resign the pleasure of commanding, which they had so recently enjoyed. Though their original object had not been to establish a new order of things, that end had been obtained by the course of events.

As this was felt on both sides, it occasioned distrust and hatred amongst the Servians: even against those with whom they should have been on amicable terms; for instance, against the Pacha Soliman, who had remained at Belgrade. He became so suspected by the Servian chiefs, that they did not venture to go up together to Belgrade; and when, on one occasion, they happened to be there, they saw, or imagined they saw, that he was manœuvring to detain them and to take their lives. They therefore pretended that their object had been to fetch the Teskeres of the Haradsch out of the town, for the purpose of collecting that tribute; and they afterwards felt quite certain, that it was only by this stratagem that they so easily effected their escape.

At this period an incident occurred in the immediate neighbourhood exemplifying the prevailing antagonism.

As the usurpation had formerly extended to the Bosnian districts on this side of the Drina, so also did the insurrection now reach them. This was the work of Kiurtschia. In the Nahia of Schabaz, where we left him, he indulged his hatred against Jacob Nenadovitsch, by discharging all those officers who had received their appointments from him. He then passed the frontier; and so soon as he had burnt the castle of Alibeg Vidaitsch, and had spread his Momkes over the surrounding districts of Jadar and Radjevina, the people rose in rebellion, and chased away the Turks in every direction.

The result, however, proved fatal to Kiurtschia himself. For the Turks, soon after, came back, and, not satisfied with laying waste Jadar, forced their way to Schabaz, without his being able to hinder them. Jacob Nenadovitsch charged Kiurtschia with this disturbance, as well as with some outrages of his people, and obtained a sentence of death against him. In order to execute the sentence, he invited the Heyduc to Novoselo, under the pretext of consulting with him concerning the defence of the frontier. Without suspicion, and disregarding their former quarrels, Kiurtschia, attended by four Momkes, came to Jacob, who had with him a force of more than a thousand men. The chiefs spent the evening in feasting and conversation. Next day some of Jacob's men laid hands on one of Kiurtschia's Momkes. Kiurtschia was just then reposing; and when he awoke, and saw his horse already in the hands of his enemies, he attempted, with a gun in his hand, to make his way through their ranks into a neighbouring hut, where his back might be protected from his assailants. Covered with wounds when he reached the hut, he yet managed to clear it of its occupants; and then, sitting down, defended himself to the last. He died from loss of blood,—the first victim of internal discord—a hero still remembered with admiration by his countrymen.

Kiurtschia's enterprise brought death upon himself, but it procured for the district a government conformable to the laws.

An influential old man of Svornik, Mehemet Kapetan, who had ever been adverse to the innovations of Alibeg, and who,

though nearly seventy years of age, was still vigorous and inclined to war, now appeared amongst the Servians, declaring himself ready, with his five sons, to go against the Turks. The people followed him with reluctance; but through his exertions, added to those of the native chiefs, Antonie Bogitschevitsch and Jephtimi Savitch, the districts of Jadar and Radjevina succeeded in obtaining peace.

The offices of Subasches and Tschitluksahibis were abolished; the Pacha promised that only once a-year should the landowner come into the country to collect his revenues, and that no other Turk should enter it; even in the event of a war with Servia, the Turkish troops should proceed by another route. Hostages were given on both sides. The inhabitants agreed to pay Poresa and Haradsch; in consideration of which the Pacha allowed them to judge and govern themselves in the greatest as well as in the least concerns. Such was the order of things established in Jadar and Radjevina.

To some it might appear that the Servians in the Pachalic of Belgrade should have been satisfied with similar arrangements.

They did not think so; and no one can be surprised at this.

The Servians of Belgrade had carried through their insurrection in a very different manner from the people of Jadar and Radjevina, and with far greater danger and difficulty. It was also attended with more important results. The inhabitants had already been subjected to the greatest misery through the vacillation of the supreme authority, in suffering the return of the Janissaries, whom they had expelled. How, therefore, could they feel assured that the faction by which they were opposed would not, a second time, obtain the upper hand—through the continued want of resolution in the Grand Signior—and thus deprive them of all the advantages they had won?

Certainly no one can blame them for seeking a better security for the future.

It was now that a plan occurred to them which proved to be of the greatest importance, not only in itself, but from the manner in which it was executed: this was to solicit the intervention of a Christian power in their favour.

For some time they were unable to decide whether that power should be Austria or Russia.

Many of their kindred tribes dwelt under Austrian influence. Austria had, in former times, always been the moving cause of the Servian insurrections: had once already ruled these lands; and it was to Austria that, in the last war, the Servians were indebted for their skill in warfare.

There were many, too, amongst them who had rendered homage to Joseph II., or had borne arms under him.

But it also occurred to the Servians that Austria had never retained the possessions she acquired, but had always given back both land and people to the Turks. Moreover, Austria was now directing all her attention to the West; concentrating her entire strength for a new conflict with the French Empire: which, both in Italy and Germany, must be a matter of life and death.

On the other hand, the name of Russia had, during the last century, acquired a high reputation amongst all the followers of the Greek Church: but the most important point was that, for a length of time, she had stood in the same relation to Moldavia and Wallachia as that which Servia desired she should stand towards herself. In repeated conventions with the Porte, Russia had stipulated for freedom of religion, and moderate taxation for these two principalities. The Hattischerif of October 23, 1802, was still fresh in their recollection; in which the Porte granted to the governments of those countries a greater degree of stability, pledged itself not to remove the reigning prince without previous reference to Russia,* and not to allow any Turks, except merchants and traders, to enter their territory. A short time previously, the new prince had, with the assistance of Russia, obtained a grant of freedom from taxes, in consideration of the devastations caused by Passvan Oglu.

Services so important, rendered at that period to their neighbours, induced the Servians, after some consideration, to decide upon addressing themselves to Russia. In August, 1804, Prota Nenadovitsch, John Protitsch, and Peter Tschardaklia, were despatched to St. Petersburg. In February, 1805, they returned with an answer which was, upon the

* Vide Engel, N. Geschichte der Walachei, p. 73.

whole, very favourable. The Russian government called upon the Servians first to prefer their requests at Constantinople, and promised to promote their fulfilment there.

The Servians, having now the promise of support from a great Christian power, were inspired with new confidence in their cause, and the demands which they made were of an important character.

In April, 1805, a meeting of Servians was held at Ostruschniza. Turks from Belgrade appeared there, and also deputies from the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, in behalf of the Porte: commissioned, it has been said, to promise the chiefs Berates of Grand Kneses.* But, undoubtedly, neither one party nor the other was authorised to grant the requests of the Servians; who demanded that, for the future, all the fortresses of the country should be garrisoned by Servian troops; on the ground of the necessity for continuing the war against Guschanz Ali at Belgrade, and against the supporters of the Dahis in the southern provinces. This claim cannot be considered unreasonable on the part of the nation; for all outrages had proceeded from the fortresses; but, on the other hand, it was a question requiring much consideration on the part of the Divan; as the Servian territory formed an important boundary of the Turkish Empire. In support of their claims, the Servians handed to the delegates a singular document: an enumeration of all the expenses they had been put to by the last war, in the service of the Grand Signior. In it there appeared an account of money that had been paid to Guschanz Ali at three different times; to Bekir and Soliman Pacha; and also of sums that had been expended for these Pachas, and of what it had cost to maintain them at Belgrade; and, lastly, the amount of their own equipment: a sum altogether of more than 2,000,000 piastres. This, they urged, ought at least to set aside all demands for arrears of taxes.

To give more weight to their claims, the Servians also determined, while at Ostruschniza, not to delay for a moment longer, their projected attack on the rest of their enemies in the southern fortresses.

* It has been always believed in Constantinople, that of the two Hospodars of the principalities, one at least, Ipsilanti, a good friend of Kara George, had rather encouraged him in his resistance. Juchereau, ii. p. 36.

Accordingly, Kara George appeared before Karanovaz. It was well defended by the Subasches, who had retreated thither, and also by auxiliary forces from Novipasar, with other soldiers who had been attracted by rumours of what was taking place. George endeavoured to carry the place by storm, but was repulsed; and in his retreat he even lost the largest gun he had brought with him: his own property. This time, however, negotiation effected his object. He represented to the Pacha of Novipasar that his business was only with the Turks from the province of Belgrade; and the Pacha soon sent his Silihdar into the Servian camp to propose that all the Turks should be allowed to depart. To this the Servians, who were anxious only to conceal the greatness of their loss, readily consented. The whole of the Turks marched off, and Kara George not only recovered his gun, but received, as a present, a beautiful Arab steed with splendid scarlet trappings.

About the same time Jacob Nenadovitsch marched against Uschize. When he passed by the district of Sokol, Melety, the Archimandrite of the cloister Ratscha, came to his assistance. They did not attempt to storm the mountain castle, called Sokol (the Falcon), which stands so high and proudly on a rock, and gives its name to the whole district; but they readily excited insurrection among the people. Reinforced by Melety and Milan Obrenovitsch, of Rudnik, Jacob advanced with a force of 3,000 men and two pieces of cannon: for he had furnished himself with a second gun. This was a very imposing force in such a country, and appeared to Omer Aga extremely formidable. Twenty aged Turks, who had taken no share in the horrors which had been perpetrated, went to meet the approaching army, to conciliate them as much as possible. On the mountain Zrnokosso they met Jacob. At first they would not believe that he really had cannon in his train, as had been reported; and, even when they saw them, they still hoped that they were only of wood. But when they came nearer, and touched them, and could no longer doubt their being real cannon, their eyes filled with tears. "Whither art thou going?" said they to Jacob. "Why comes the Grand Signior's Rayah to cannonade the Grand Signior's fortress?" Jacob answered that he was not come against the fortress of the Czar, but

against the rebels, Omer Aga, and Bego: that, in fact, he had his cannon from the Czar himself; but that he would not harm any one, if the evil-doers were delivered over to him. Their reply was, "our law does not permit us to deliver our brethren in faith over to a people of another creed."

Jacob immediately attacked them all indiscriminately. No sooner had he succeeded in setting fire to the town—the flames, it being the dry season, spreading rapidly amongst the wooden houses—than Omer and Bego Nowljanin took to flight, and the rest of the garrison surrendered. This was on tha 20th of July, 1805. The Turks then engaged not to come into the Nahia; over which Jacob appointed a Voivode of his own selection; and for permission to remain in the town, they gave to their conqueror 50,000 paistres and eighty Arabian horses.

By these means the south of Servia was now placed on an equality with the other part of the country. The fortresses had every where surrendered, though they were not yet taken possession of. That the power of the Dahis was annihilated, the Turks, who were favourable to the old order of things and devoted to the Sultan, regarded as an advantage as much as the Servians themselves did. But now the question arose on all sides, "How would these parties couduct themselves towards each other?" The Turks were excluded from the country, yet they had not relinquished their claims to its government; whilst the Servians demanded that all the fortresses should be placed in their own hands.

Meanwhile, the Servian embassy had arrived at Constantinople, where their demands were laid before the Grand Signior; and it was upon these opposing claims that he was called upon to decide.

If we take into consideration the entire condition of the Ottoman Empire, we may venture to say that this crisis was one of the most important that had, for centuries, occurred in its history.

For just at that time also, the spirit of reform, the origin of which has already been noticed, had attained a certain degree of maturity.

In the year 1804, the Topdschi were placed on a footing much superior to the Janissaries. Two squadrons of Niza-

midschedid, under red and white standards, were now seen performing their evolutions; the foot-soldiers had guns and bayonets, entirely after French models; and one at least of the Pachas—Abdurrhaman of Caramania—had most zealously followed the example set him by the Sultan.

As this militia had rendered essential service in the pursuit and chastisement of bands of robbers who overran Roumelia, Selim III, in 1805, ventured upon the decisive step of issuing a decree, that from among the Janissaries and the young men of the Empire, the strongest and finest should everywhere be selected for the purpose of serving amongst the Nizamidschedid.*

At the very time when the power of the Janissaries, represented by the Dahis and Kabadahis, was destroyed by the forces of the incensed Rayahs, in Servia, where they had most especially sought firmly to establish themselves, this second blow was struck by the Turkish government, in order to effect their total ruin.

The bands of robbers which were encountered by the Nizamidschedid, in the same manner as the Krdschalies had been by the Servians, were considered by the Janissaries as their allies rather than as their enemies.

But the Janissaries had it still in their power to oppose to the Sultan all that strength of attachment which people cherish for their ancient customs.

We know that a Kadi, who had endeavoured to execute the Sultan's commands, was, in consequence, strangled. Adrianople rose in rebellion; and the Janissaries were yet able to bring 10,000 men against the Sultan's newly-organized troops.

The Sultan would have considered himself fortunate, if, in other provinces of his empire, brave Rayahs, like the Servians, had stood forward to strengthen his hands. And it became a question of increased importance, whether he should not attach the Servians at least to his cause, and enter into a firm alliance with them.

Princes have ever sought the sympathy and co-operation of the common people, as their best aid, when engaged in a contest with those classes of their subjects who have grown too powerful, through the exercise of exclusive privileges.

* Juchereau de St. Denys, ii. 26.

It was unfortunate for Selim and the Turkish Empire that he could not thus act; but his position would not allow him so to do.

Unlike other princes, all of whose subjects belong to them equally, he was considered as peculiarly the ruler of the Mussulmans.

For, as has been shown, the Turkish Empire is based not on an union and amalgamation of different elements, but on the opposing forces of two distinct populations; one destined to command, the other to obey.

That the Rayahs, whose part it was to serve, should arm themselves and thus assume an equality with the followers of the dominant religion, was intolerable to the Mussulmans of both parties—the reformers, as well as those who adhered to the old system; and it was also contrary to the fundamental laws of the country; to the very nature of the Caliphate, and to the supreme authority itself.

We have seen that it was alleged against Hadji Mustafa as a crime, that he had led the Servians against Passvan Oglu. On the difference between the Faithful and the Infidels rested that Fetwa of the Mufti, by which the re-admission of the Janissaries into Belgrade was decided. Nothing made so strong an impression on the otherwise peaceful Turks as the banner of the Heyduc, and the artillery carried by the Rayahs.

That the Sultan should grant all that the Servians had demanded at Ostruschniza, was not to be expected. He was justified in refusing to consign to their keeping the fortresses on the frontiers. Other grants, however, tending to place them and their property in greater security, were unquestionably due to them. Nor could the Sultan consistently condemn them for having taken up arms in his behalf, since he had thus been freed from an usurpation most dangerous to his authority.

Yet, great as was the contradiction involved in this course, Selim III nevertheless adopted it.

He seemed to consider the Servians in the light of evil-doers, and rebels against his authority; and instead of any answer to their claims, he placed their deputies under arrest, and issued an order to Afis, the Pacha of Nisch, to disarm the Rayahs.

This hostility to the Servians,—treatment altogether different in character from any they had before experienced from the Turks, and originating with the Grand Signior himself,—met with the approval of the Mussulmans, and was energetically pursued.

It is related that one of the Servian deputies—Stephen Schivkovitsch, a wealthy merchant, conversant with the Turkish and Greek languages, who had previously rendered important services to his countrymen by procuring them ammunition—contributed materially to the resistance which was opposed to Afis Pacha. By representing, at Constantinople, that, in order to prevent bloodshed, the Servians ought to be assured that Afis proceeded in this matter at the express command of the Porte, he managed to get himself sent to Servia for this purpose. In Servia, however, he stated the real facts only to the chiefs; whilst, with an air of truth, he related to the people that Afis had been commissioned to march into Servia with not more than 300 men; and that, should he appear at the head of a larger army, they would be justified in opposing him. Finally, he induced Guschanz Ali to believe, that, despite of the interest made for himself, Afis had been appointed to the Pachalic through bribery. "Well, then, beat him out of the country!" replied Guschanz; who, in the mean time, was content to remain quiet at Belgrade with his Krdschalies; though a part of the blockading army was withdrawn.

Thus the Servians were enabled to arm themselves, and were prepared to repel the Pacha's attack by force, should necessity require it. On the extreme boundary of the Pachalic, between Kiupria and Parakyn, Milenko and Peter Dobrinjaz took up a position, with a force of 2500 men and a piece of iron ordnance, behind two intrenchments, one large and the other small. In their rear, on the left bank of the Morava, in the mountains of Jagodina, Kara George encamped with the people of the Schumadia.

An engagement, however, did not immediately ensue on the appearance of Afis. At first, the Servians only required that he should pursue the usual road, hitherto taken by all the Pachas, over Jagodina; as, on that route alone, the requisite accommodation had been provided. Afis, aware probably that on that very road another Servian army

awaited him, insisted upon proceeding along the right bank of the Morava down the Danube. The Servians replied, "That part of the country had been laid waste by war, and could not supply an army." Afis became angry, and exclaimed, "Am I to ask robbers which road I am to take to Belgrade?"

It is said that he brought ropes with him to bind the chiefs; but for the people—at the sight of whose beautiful swords and turban-like head-dresses he was incensed—bread-knives and peasants' caps: for such, he said, best became them.

Afis first attacked and carried the smaller intrenchment, despite the iron cannon with which it was defended by the Servians. But the larger fortification held out the whole day, so that the Turks were appalled by the losses they sustained; and as their scouts reported that Kara George was approaching with his whole force, at least 10,000 men (he actually did lead down about 5000 from the mountains), Afis determined to retreat. Accordingly, during the night, he took down the standards with which he had surrounded the besieged fort; and, that his departure might not be noticed, he planted branches of trees in their stead, and then removed to Parakyn.

On the following morning Kara George made his appearance. Finding the camp deserted, he advanced as far as a hill in front of Parakyn, and saluted the enemy with some shot. He then sent a taunting message, saying, "If the Pacha were a hero, he would come down into the plain:" asking, "Why should the poor people in the town, who had committed no wrong, have their houses burnt?"

Kara George wished, moreover, to avoid the necessity of attacking Parakyn, on account of its belonging to the Pacha of Leskovaz, to whom he was under some obligation.

Afis found it difficult to hold his position, even behind the walls of Parakyn. Despairing of being able to carry out his undertaking, and much chagrined at the necessity of yielding to Rayahs, he retreated still further to Nisch. His death, which occurred soon after, was ascribed to the mortification he experienced at the frustration of his mission.

The event which had hitherto been avoided now actually took place. After an army which the Grand Signior had

sent to Servia had been repulsed by violence on the borders of the country, it could no longer be said that the Sovereign took part with the Rayahs.

The war that had been commenced against the Dahis now took a different turn; and owing to the errors of the day, the old national dissensions were revived.

CHAPTER IX.

SERVIAN WAR OF LIBERATION IN 1806 AND 1807.

Hostilities in 1805.—Giuscha Vulitschevitsch, Voivode of Smederevo, is killed by the Turks.—The Servians take the Town of Smederevo.—Disturbances at Schabaz and Belgrade.—Renewed Determination of the Sultan to Disarm the Rayahs.—General Rising of the Servians.—Stojan Tschupitsch.—The Army of Haji Beg again appears in the Matschwa.—Nenadovitsch offers to negotiate.—The Servian Deputies are detained by Haji Beg.—The People distrust their Chiefs, and refuse to keep the Field.—Arrival of Ibrahim Pacha at Nisch with a Bosnian Army of Forty Thousand Men.—Brilliant Success of Kara George.—Milosch Stoitschevitsch.—Conflict between the Servians and Turks near Schabaz.—Total Defeat of the Turks by Kara George.—Their Disastrous Retreat.—Gallant Defence of the Fortress of Deligrade by Peter Dobrinjaz.—Peace is proposed by Ibrahim Pacha.—Negotiations at Constantinople.—The Servian Demands are advocated by Peter Itschko.—Conditions offered by the Porte.—European Relations in the Autumn of 1806.—The Turkish Government refuses to ratify the Conditions it had offered.—Capture of Belgrade by Kara George.—Guschanz Ali evacuates the Citadel.—Treacherous Massacre of the Garrison of Belgrade.—Fall of Schabaz, and of Uschize.—Jacob Nenadovitsch endeavours to excite an Insurrection in Bosnia.—The Turks retire beyond the Drina-Milenko.—Services of the Heyduc Veliko.—Improved Position of the Servians.

Towards the end of the year 1805, open hostilities broke out in every quarter, between the Servians, who were in possession of the country, and the Turks, who, under the stipulations of the treaty, remained in the fortresses. One day Giuscha Vulitschevitsch, the Voivode of the district of Smederevo, visited that town. He was handsomely attired and armed, and paced the street somewhat consequentially

the Turkish populace resented his insolent bearing, and in the contest that ensued he was killed by them. Instantly the Servians rushed forth to be revenged—not only on the actual perpetrators of the crime, but on the entire Turkish population. They bombarded and took the town; and now formally garrisoned it: which they had not done the year before. This incensed the Turks in the other fortresses, and filled them with apprehension. They endeavoured at once to make themselves more secure, and to take revenge. They killed many Servians who lived outside the walls of Schabaz; engaged Bosnian auxiliary troops, and strengthened their position. In Uschize they acted in a similar manner. Guschanz Ali had hitherto lived with the Servians in Belgrade, under the express or implied agreement, that they were to supply him with provisions, and that he was not to disturb them. Now, however, he attacked them by water, in their fortifications at Ostruschuiza; and by land in their villages, Scharkovo and Schelesnik; and about the beginning of the year 1806, a pitched battle was fought near these places.

At the same time the cry of war resounded from afar. The Grand Signior evinced his determination to reduce the Servians completely. They looked abroad for assistance, which rendered it more necessary for him to exert all his power to subdue them, before the alliance which they were about to form should assume a dangerous character. The commission which the Pacha of Nisch had been unable to execute—to disarm and punish the refractory Rayahs in Servia—he now assigned to more powerful chiefs. Bekir, the Vizier of Bosnia, and the Pacha Ibrahim, of Scutari, at the head of the bravest troops of the empire—Bekir leading the Bosnians and Herzegovinians, and Ibrahim the Albanians and Roumeliotes—were commanded to await the Sultan's orders on different sides of the country.

The Servians placed themselves in complete readiness for the encounter. They had now become altogether a warlike people. There was no soldier-class in Servia; every man was a warrior. In pressing cases, each house sent forth into the field, all its members capable of bearing arms; in slighter emergencies, one of two, or two out of three; so that the farming might be carried on in the mean time. If there were only one man in a house, he took turn with his

neighbour weekly. The people were above either asking or receiving pay. Every man bore his own weapons, and appeared in his best attire; the women sending provisions after them. In every village they who were exempt from out-door labour had the obligation imposed on them of forwarding supplies, on sumpter horses, twice a-week, whether the war were being carried on in the neighbourhood or at a distance.

An old companion in arms of Kara George, Raditsch Petrovitsch, who had relinquished his captain's pension at Syrmia, and come to serve his friend, went up into the southern mountains to oppose the enemy, and spread the insurrection from place to place, hoping he might thus be able to defend the defiles with a small number of men. On the other side of the country, Milenko stationed himself in an island of the Danube, Poretsch, which commands the navigation at that point where the river rushes, with the impetuosity of a mountain torrent, through the Iron Gate in the direction from Nisch. The plain through which the Bulgarian Morava flows towards the great river Morava, affords the easiest entry into Servia; and thither Peter Dobrinjaz now proceeded, after Parakyn had been without hesitation taken possession of by the Servians. Near the road, on the right bank of the Bulgarian Morava, he founded Deligrade. In his rear, Mladen seized and garrisoned Kruschevaz. The Bosnians, by the treaty which they had made, were indeed excluded from the two districts, Jadar and Radjevina; but the Matschwa stood open to them. In that direction, however, they were opposed by an intrenchment which Jacob Nenadovitsch raised against them at Zrnabara.

Thus the Servians were pretty well prepared; although they had no idea how fierce and perilous the approaching conflict would be.

The first attacks of the Bosnians, who, in the spring made their appearance near the Drina, were comparatively unimportant. Osman-Dshora crossed over the Drina opposite Sokol, and laid many a farm in ashes; but having suffered himself to be surprised by the Servians, he perished with a great number of his men. More to be feared was the vigorous old Mehemet Kapetan; who, having become reconciled with his rivals, was no longer a friend to the Servians.

He made inroads into the Matschwa : but fortunately that district had a very able defender in Stojan Tschupitsch. Tschupitsch had his men fully under control ; and was so familiar with them that he would occasionally take a pipe out of a soldier's mouth, and smoke it himself : yet he had been heard to say, that each man's life hung on his lips. He exercised his power of punishment inexorably, cruelly, and with a smile upon his face. He had been an old companion of Kiurtschia ; was of a spare form, possessed extraordinary courage ; and exulted in the number of his Momkes and the fame of his exploits. In the field of Salash, not far from his native place Notshai, he most valorously met the superior forces of Mehemet. He has himself related how, in the heat of the battle, he met Mehemet hand to hand ; when the old Pacha suddenly turned round, wrested his lance from him with singular adroitness, and rode off at full speed! Once when a singer at a banquet recited a song regarding this victory, Tschupitsch himself set him right on some points, and presented him with a Turkish horse.

These attacks of the Bosnians, however, had been only a slight commencement of hostilities. In the summer, the Turks renewed their attacks at Sokol, with a much larger force. Hadji Beg passed over from Srebrnitza ; and the main body, about 30,000 strong, appeared again in the Matschwa. The Vizier, indeed, did not lead this army himself ; but he sent two officers who could well supply his place : the Seraskier, Kulin Kapetan, a young commander, distinguished as much by his cruelty as by his valour ; and old Mehemet.

This army proved exceedingly destructive to the inhabitants of Jadar ; though they should have been protected by reason of their treaty. Kulin Kapetan caused even the peaceful villages, from which supplies were brought to him, to be plundered ; the chief inhabitants to be murdered ; and the defenceless to be carried off as prisoners. The Knes Ivan gave his whole property to ransom his countrymen ; by whom he will ever be held in grateful remembrance. He was, however, constantly in fear of the Turks, and was at last obliged to flee, and earn his livelihood as a labourer.

But the declared opponents of the Turkish army had much greater cause of alarm. Jacob Nenadovitsch, by far

too weak to hazard an encounter in the open field, was induced to send his nephew Prota, and Stojan Tschupitsch, into the hostile camp to negotiate. This, however, was far from sound policy. Kulin would nor hear of any stipulations. "Seest thou," said he to Prota, "these numberless troops? Amongst them all there is not one who would fear to seize with his naked hand the edge of a brandished sword." Instead of entering into negotiations, Kulin demanded the demolition of the fortification of Zrnabara; and, as the deputies had not the power to concede to his demand, he actually detained them. This detention was no small advantage to him; for, as the Turks had now some of the chiefs in their power, they could with greater safety advance into the Servian territory. The Servian people, on the other hand, knew not what to think of their chiefs. In their opinion the attempt to enter into negotiation seemed only to indicate that their leaders were about to surrender. Accordingly, when the Ottomans spread themselves over the districts of Schabaz and Waljevo, the native population refused to remain in the field: every one desired to look after his home, his wife, and his children; and they all dispersed. The Save was covered with the fugitives, who, in their boats, sought the Austian bank; for on the Servian bank, murder and rapine raged: all who were found unarmed were led away as slaves, and their cattle carried off. Many villages submitted, and received Kneses from Turkish authority. The people complained loudly of their leaders: "Why had they commenced the war, if they knew that they could not hold their ground? They had everywhere asserted that they were not fighting against the Sultan, and now he had sent so large an army that resistance could no longer be thought of."

The chiefs were in danger of being murdered by the people, and had to conceal themselves in the forests with their Momkes. Kulin advanced as far as Ustje, on the road to Belgrade, near to the Kolubara. Encouraged by these successes, Hadji Beg endeavoured to force a passage over the mountain from Sokol.

The position of the Servians was indeed critical, when Ibrahim Pacha, of Scutari, appeared simultaneously on the other boundary, near Nisch, with an army estimated at

40,000 men. In fact, it appeared to be an insane undertaking, for the scantily equipped Rayahs of a single province to oppose themselves to the military power of the Turkish Empire, under such brave and warlike commanders.

It was in this hour of danger that Kara George earned his fame and rank as commander-in-chief.

He opposed to the great Bosnian army about 1500 men, under the command of Katitsch. This force, being in a favourable position, succeeded in detaining the Bosnians for the moment, though not without the loss of their valiant leader, Katitsch, himself, whilst Kara George in person, with no greater numbers, went against Hadji Beg as he approached from Sokol; met him at Pezka, and repulsed him with such vigour as to leave no fear of his ever returning. Kara George then rushed over the mountain into those districts which had just been subdued by the Bosnians. He killed the Kneses whom they had appointed, and did not spare those who had advised a surrender; all who had escaped by flight, and were able to bear arms, he collected around him. On the other hand, he rewarded those who had not lost courage even amidst these horrors. Amongst them appeared Milosch Stoitschevitsch, of Pozerje: a young man who had been brought up by the priests, and had up to this time filled the office of clerk or secretary to Ilia Markovitsch, a Buljukbasha, at Potzerina. He was small in stature, fair complexioned, and affable, but he had a bold heart. His master had surrendered to the Turks; and his mother was carried off into slavery; but he, with a few Momkes, fled into the mountain. With them he now presented himself to Kara George, who thus addressed him: "Thou art my son, and shall be my Voivode of Pozerje." His name recalled to George's mind the old Milosch of Pozerje, the brother in arms of Kralievitsch; and often has the youthful Voivode been compared to the venerable hero. They now proceeded forward together, and induced the people to rise again in every quarter. In a short time the Turks, threatened in the rear and on their flanks, judged it prudent to retreat to Schabaz. About an hour's march from that station, near Mischar, Kara George arrived with 7000 foot soldiers and 2000 horse; and, agreeably to the mode of warfare in that country, he immediately threw up an in-

trenchment opposite to the encampment of the enemy. He had with him a mortar and three pieces of cannon.

Affairs now approached to a crisis. The Turks had still sufficient pride to demand the submission of their opponents and the surrender of their arms; but the Servians boldly returned for answer, "If you will have our arms, here they are; come and take them!"

The Turks advanced. On two successive mornings they sallied forth from their camp near Schabaz, stormed the Servian works, fought throughout the day, and returned to their quarters in the evening without having gained any advantage. Astonished at their failure, they yet, from the superiority of their numbers, did not despair of the result. They then sent this message to the Servians: "For two days you have held out well; but once more we will attack you with all our force: it will then be determined whether we shall evacuate the country as far as the Drina, or drive you back to Smederevo." They suffered numbers of persons from the further side of the Save to come over, in order that, on the hills and from the trees, they might see the battle. "Now," they boasted, "we will show them in what manner we will treat the Heyducs."

It was in the early part of August, 1806, that the two armies measured their strength. The night before the battle, Kara George sent his horsemen into an adjacent forest, directing them to attack the enemy's rear when the first shot was fired from his side, but not earlier. Within the works, he commanded his troops not to fire before the Turks had approached so near that their aim should be certain. At break of day, the Seraskier, with all his forces, went forth; the bravest Begs of Bosnia carrying the standards before the army. The Servians calmly awaited them, with their pieces loaded. Not until the Turks had come within range of the Servian fire, did Kara George give the appointed signal. All the men in the front rank took aim: they hit, as these marksmen express it, "all together into the flesh." The standards fell. The utmost consternation was produced by the cannon. Immediately upon this, the Servian horse issued from the rear and fell upon the Turks. At the same moment Kara George sallied forth from the intrenchments and, with his infantry, broke through the hostile ranks. In

an instant the disorder of the Turks was complete, and their defeat decided.

The most eminent commanders of their army, Sinan, Pacha of Goraschde, the Kapetan of Derventa, the Seraskier himself, Kulin—all perished! Here also fell Mehemet Kapetan, with two of his sons. The flower of the Bosnian youth had fallen around the standards.

The Servians sustained scarcely any loss; but the brave priest, Luka Lasarevitch, while too impetuously pursuing the enemy, was severely wounded. The Turks, on the other hand, were so completely routed, that the few chiefs who survived, determined, during the night, to throw a part of their army into Schabaz, and to lead the remainder forthwith over the Drina. This retreat, however, cost them nearly as much as the battle itself. Whilst passing in detachments through the forest of Kitog, they were attacked on all sides, and a rich booty, with all the prisoners whom they had not yet transported over the Drina, taken from them. Milosch of Pozerje obtained for his own prize the scimitar of Kulin: the most brilliant trophy. He also liberated his mother and brought her back to his home.

Whilst this great victory was being achieved, other Servian chiefs, and especially Peter Dobrinjaz, had rendered services equally advantageous to their country. The army which Ibrahim Pacha of Scutari led on, was even stronger than that of the Bosnians; yet it met with a resistance, if not altogether so brilliant, yet quite as energetic. On a well-selected spot in its route, the fortress of Deligrade had been erected.* This stronghold Peter Dobrinjaz defended for six weeks—his

* We refrain here from details, because we do not find full information respecting the events which took place on the frontiers. The Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century relates how Jacob Levich and Stanoila Alas commanded there against three Bashaws, Bim, Delie, and Sacsi. (1806, p. 429.) This refers no doubt to Stanoie, Glavasch, and Jacoblevitsch, Voivode of Levatsch; whilst the designations Bimbashaw, Commander of a Thousand, and Delibashaw, Commander of the Deli, he converts into real Bashaws. It may be observed that we write *Bashaw*, and not *Bashi*; though the latter would unquestionably be more correct. But it would be needless to employ different titles, as the dignities which the Turks denote by Bimbaschi, Bulukbaschi, are the same which the Servians denote by Bimbascha, and Buljukbascha. We follow here, as elsewhere, the Servian pronunciation.

most renowned action; whilst some troops in the neighbourhood, under Mladen and Glavasch occupied the Pacha by petty attacks; so that he could not advance a step.

The struggle between the Servians and the Turks was decided in favour of the former: a result that could hardly have been expected. The continued disturbances in the interior of the Turkish Empire operated to the advantage of the Servians; but, inasmuch as the Turkish forces by whom they were attacked were greatly superior to them in number, most honourable and glorious was the resistance offered by the Servians.

And for this they were soon to be rewarded. When Kara George, after his victory on the Save, towards the end of the summer of 1806, approached the eastern frontier with a part of his forces, Ibrahim held forth his hand for peace: having full authority to do so.

It appeared to him now indispensably necessary for the Turks, that an adjustment of these disputes should be effected. In their conflict with the Servians alone, the Turks, despite their extraordinary efforts, had been defeated: how much more dangerous, then, would the Servians become, should Russia, with which country and the Porte a war was at that time impending, find in them a sure ally?

At a meeting at Smederevo, the Servians were easily induced to send to Constantinople with their proposals, an embassy, consisting of two Kneses and a Bulgarian, Peter Itschko, well versed in the politics of the time.

It was only reasonable that the Servians, after the glorious victories they had gained, should not recede from their claims: they accordingly repeated the demands which they had made on a former occasion; and so admirably did Peter Itschko advocate their cause, that at one time those demands might really have been considered as granted. Peter Itschko had formerly served as interpreter to a Turkish ambassador at Berlin. In that capital he had acquired a knowledge of the principal languages of European nations, and had also learnt to understand their interests. Subsequently, having conducted commercial transactions for European merchants at Belgrade, and thus obtained some influence, he assumed the position of mediator. Hadji Mustafa issued no orders without his counsel and approval; and when the Dahis were

besieged, through the assistance of a Turkish Pacha, his tent was seen next to that of Kara George in the field of Belgrade. But never did his talent for mediation prove of higher importance, or meet with more eminent success, than on the present occasion. He represented to the Porte so forcibly, its danger from an alliance between the Servians and the Russians—who at that very time had begun their march into Wallachia and Moldavia—that the Porte at length condescended to grant concessions, such as were contrary to the stern severity of its principles of government, and must be considered quite out of its usual course. So early as the end of October, Peter Itschka returned to Smederevo, and announced to the Servians that the Porte had expressed its willingness to grant them undisputed possession of their country, a government of their own, and even to allow them to garrison the fortresses; requiring only, as a mark of its continued sovereignty, that a Muhasil with 150 Turks should reside at Belgrade. Instead of all the former taxes, the Servians were to pay annually 1800 purses: *i. e.* 900,000 piastres (60,000*l.* sterling); out of which sum the Porte would undertake to settle the claims of the Spahis, their former landlords. In fact, everything that the Servians had asked was conceded. They were to be relieved from the oppressions arising from the collecting of various imposts, and also from the presence of the Turks, to whom these duties had been assigned; they were to become the proprietors of their country, which hitherto they had cultivated only for others; and were allowed to carry arms, and to garrison the fortresses under Turkish supremacy.

This was a moment of great importance to both nations. By these means only was it possible to prevent an alliance between the Servians and Russia. The Servians did not hesitate to accept these conditions; and without loss of time Peter Itschko, accompanied by two other Kneses, returned to obtain the ratification of this treaty by the Divan. And who could have doubted that it would be ratified? The Muhasil, appointed for Belgrade, had arrived at Smederevo, at the same time with the deputies.

In the interim, however, the Porte had taken other counsel. It is probable that the course of European events—the relation of which to the Ottoman Empire we have yet to consider—and the victorious progress of the ally of the Porte, Napo-

leon, against Prussia, in the autumn of 1806, had lessened its fear of the Russians, and renewed its confidence in its own power. Necessarily, when the affair came to be finally decided, all the interests opposed to concession were urged, once more, with renewed force. It seemed an injustice to eject the Spahis, who had not committed any fault, from their rightful property, in consideration of a sum of money; the payment of which, from the low state of the Turkish finances, was very doubtful. The judgment of the Mufti, which had led the Janissaries back, was in opposition to such a measure: nor would it have been readily acceded to by the Ulemas. And, if the fortresses were to be given over to the Servians, what was to ensure their obedience? Was not the danger that the Turks were rushing into, greater perhaps than that which they were endeavouring to avoid?

Suffice it, that the Divan, availing itself of the opportunity for deliberating anew, rejected the treaty at the very moment when its ratification was to have taken place.

Nevertheless, the peace which Peter Itschko had sought to establish was not lost sight of: it was always regarded as the model of any future treaty between the Servians and the Turks. But the consequence of this treaty's not being ratified was, that affairs were left to develope themselves, without any controlling power to influence them.

Instead of being restrained, the Servians were, on the contrary, incited, by these negotiations to summon the fortresses; in front of which the war of this year had commenced. Like everything which has a beginning, victory also demands a consummation. As a proof that the peace had been concluded, the Servians appeared with their Muhasil before Belgrade and Schabaz, and, in accordance with it, demanded the surrender of those places. But at neither of these fortresses did their assurances make any impression on the Turks. Nor did Bekir Pacha prepare, as they required, to withdraw his Bosnians from Schabaz. The Servians wished to possess the fortresses, above all things; and the troops also demanded possession; being impatient at the prospect of passing the winter in the intrenchments thrown up for the siege. But it was clear that they must enforce their claim by a second victory.

At first Kara George determined on vigorously attacking

Belgrade: which he, with his friends Tscharapitsch, Glavasch, and Miloie, had encompassed from the Danube to the Save.

Amongst the Krdschalies of Guschanz Ali, was an Albanian of the Greek religion, named Konda, who had, at the commencement of the contest, contributed greatly towards the defence of Belgrade against the Servians; but when the war had changed into a contest between Turks and Christians, he had gone over to the Servians. Many others had done the same; but, of them all, Konda proved the most useful. Displaying boldness and ability at all times, he had already been made Bimbascha; and he now offered to capture the town by an act of hazardous daring. Accordingly, Konda, accompanied by Usun Mirko, a Servian—who was as tall and powerful as his leader was small and alert—and five others who equalled them in valour and resolution, on the 12th of December, 1806, shortly before day-break, approached the trenches of the fortress by which alone the outer town was defended. Knowing exactly in which direction they might make their way between the numerous watch-towers which had been erected, Konda succeeded in taking his companions through, unnoticed. That he might not excite attention, by proceeding directly from the trenches to the gate, he advanced a short distance into the town, and then turned back, and went straight towards the Christians' Gate. A sentry met him, and demanded "who they were?" Konda replied, "Momkes of the Usür-beg," (a commander of the Krdschalies): he spoke Turkish, and therefore did not excite any suspicion. He thus, without hindrance, got to the rear of the gate-watch, and immediately fell on them. It was the commencement of the Bairam festival; and when the firing was heard in the town, it was supposed to be a salute in honour of the day. Konda had time to overpower the guard,—who, however, defended themselves valiantly, and killed four of his companions; and then, though wounded, he proceeded with Mirko, who was also wounded, and the one surviving Servian soldier, who was unhurt, to force open the gate. On this, Miloie rushed in: and, during the confusion which arose from his attack, Kara George also passed over the trenches. The Turks, aroused, now flew to defend themselves; and a desperate conflict ensued. The

people were firing from all the houses; and as the dwellings could not be separately attacked, the Servians set fire to them; so that the defenders fled into the streets, where they were hewn down by the swords of their enemies. In this conflict, Tscharapitsch, who forced a passage at the Stamboul Gate, was killed. By ten o'clock the town was captured; but the best troops had thrown themselves into the citadel.

To take the citadel was certainly not the work of a moment. The Servians did not hesitate to occupy the neutral island in the southern part of the Danube—respecting which the Austrians residing in it could not say whether it were really Turkish territory or not; and by this means they were enabled to cut off from the citadel all means of obtaining supplies. It was from this very island, that Sultan Soliman first conquered Belgrade. Before the end of December, Guschanz Ali saw himself under the necessity of capitulating; and he sailed with his Krdschalies, in eight large vessels, down to Widdin.

The only immediate result of this was, that Soliman Pacha became lord of his fortress; the Servians willingly allowing him to remain therein.

It first appeared, that the proceedings of the Servians would be altogether of an unusually mild character. So strictly did Kara George interdict plundering at the taking of Belgrade, that he ordered two men, who had disobeyed his orders, to be put to death, and their limbs exposed on the gates of the town. He likewise received with hospitality, all who came from the fortress to solicit his protection.

Nevertheless, it is probable that, even at this time, all the Turks were destined to be put to death. When Guschanz Ali passed in his vessels by Poretsch, they were fired at by the battery which Milenko had erected there; and it was only by the great rapidity of the current that he escaped. But the Servians were so enraged, that they followed him in caïques—nay, even pursued and attacked the fugitives who went on shore on Austrian territory. The conduct of Guschanz should have put them to the blush! Though the Momkes, who were to have conducted his horses by land to Widdin, had also been attacked, robbed, and killed on the way, he nevertheless caused the hostages who had been given him to be sent back to Belgrade, unhurt.

But the Servians persevered in their intention. They would neither allow the Turks to remain in the citadel, nor suffer them to escape ; for they regarded them all as enemies and traitors. Were not these men, they asked, the adherents of the Dahis, from whom they had experienced so much oppression, and on whom they ought still to take revenge for murder? Were not their beautiful garments and their riches, plunder obtained from the land of the Servians?

Therefore, when Soliman, on the intimation that no further supplies would be granted him, begged for a safe retreat, it was promised to him, indeed, and also a safeguard ; but scarcely had he (on the 7th of March, 1807), with his two hundred Janissaries, and with the different families who had joined him, gone a few hours' march, when he was attacked from an ambuscade. The safeguard, instead of defending him, made common cause with his assailants ; and out of his whole party not one escaped. The massacre immediately extended to Belgrade. For two days the Turks, who had endeavoured to conceal themselves, were sought out and slaughtered. They who still survived, on the third day—chiefly beggars—were sent to Widdin. Some turned Christians. By the booty of these bloody days, Mladen, Miloie, Knes Sima Markovitsch, Wule Ilitsch, and others, beame rich. In such fearful acts of cruelty did their hatred against the Turks vent itself: hatred long suppressed, but strengthened by mutual animosities, and by the war ; and at last thus fiercely bursting forth.

No Servian song commemorates this sanguinary retaliation on the Turks. The old Kneses shook their heads and said, "it was not well done: they would have to atone for it!" But they said this secretly, lest they might be considered as siding with the Turks ; which would have endangered their own lives.

Their younger countrymen, however, urged on by the fortunate issue of these events, hastened to prosecute the war still further, as though nothing extraordinary had occurred.

In February, Schabaz yielded, after experiencing similar horrors.

Kara George then attacked Uschize with the army of the Schumadia. After the Turks had released themselves

from their treaty with the Servians, they had raised fortifications round the town; and to take these was the first object of the assailants. It was here that Milosch Obrenovitsch first distinguished himself; receiving, however, a dangerous wound in his breast. Uschize is, after Belgrade, the most populous town of the Pachalic; and it was no slight advantage to the Servians that in June, 1807, it fell into their hands. This time they did not again entrust it to the Turks.

The victors were now no longer satisfied with the territory which had formerly belonged to them.

Jacob had, without trouble, taken possession of the districts of Jadar and Radjevina, which already formed, as it were, a part of the country; and he left nothing untried to throw Bosnia, on the further side of the Drina, into a state of insurrection. In the first instance, he sent two deputies thither, who issued proclamations. But he had not selected proper men for this purpose: one of them was a robber, addicted to drinking, who was attacked and killed while in a state of intoxication; the other was a monk, who, being thus left alone, would not place his life in jeopardy. Jacob then sent over a few armed men, who succeeded so far as to excite some of the villages to insurrection, after having killed a collector of the Haradsch; but, on the first arrival of the Turks, order was restored. At last, Jacob built a vessel, by means of which a communication between the two banks of the Drina could be kept up. In it he sent about a thousand men over to the opposite side of the river, where they formed an intrenchment very near its bank, which he fortified with cannon. He hoped, from this entrenched camp, to effect a movement of the Bosnian Christians; but the Turks hastened to frustrate this scheme. They first blockaded the fort which had been raised, and then crossed over to the Servian bank. The consequence was, that, instead of producing any favourable result by his manœuvres, Jacob had to think of defending himself and protecting Losnitza.

George did not delay coming to his assistance. He sent him a part of his men from Uschize, well equipped, and well mounted, under a gallant commander, Miloie; who did not hesitate to express his contempt for the Turks, and declared his intention of taking them prisoners in whole troops. He

was, however, very far from effecting his object. The Sclavonian as well as the Albanian Mahometans are exceedingly brave people. Miloie returned without his helmet from his very first engagement: being saved only by the swiftness of his Arab steed; and instead of glory, earned only ridicule.

During the remainder of the summer, the Servians fought for whole days—sometimes in the open field, sometimes at the entrenchments which the Turks had thrown up—without success; without any decisive result.

Towards autumn, the Turks went back over the Drina.

In the meantime, Milenko had turned his views upon the Kraina; where, amidst the general disunion, the old terms of peace had not been preserved, and whence the Karapandschitsch had fled. But he experienced much opposition from Molla Pacha, the successor of Passvan Oglu; and although assisted by Kara George, and some Russians, who—led on by Isaïew—now first appeared in this country, he could effect nothing decisive. Hs was obliged to content himself with retaining possession of the mountain Mirotsch, between Poretsch and the Kraina.

On the other hand, important advantages were gained in those parts, by one from whom such achievements had not been expected—the Heyduc Veliko. He had begged only for a banner, and general permission to assemble volunteers: "he required nothing else," he said, "to re-conquer his native country, Zrnareka." Aware that he would not remain quiet unless his request were granted, the Servians gave him all he asked. He very soon caused himself to be talked of. Although the force which he brought together at first, was small, he ventured to besiege a Beg in Podgoraz: by piling up, one upon another, a number of barrels filled with straw, and then setting them on fire, so that the flames reached up to the fort, he forced him to surrender. He gave the Beg a safe-conduct to Widdin; but first exchanged dresses and horses with him, and took from him all the money in his possession. He then assembled his men; and, though himself a commander of inferior rank, he appointed standard-bearers, Buljukbaschas, and even a Bimbascha. One half of the booty he distributed, the other he sent to Belgrade; and as, instead of demanding money, like others, he contributed

some, his presumption was allowed to pass unrebuked. It was sufficient if he succeeded in holding his ground. When the Turks from Widdin came against him, with a force incomparably superior to his own, he was not in any degree daunted. He succeeded, by a bold stroke, in keeping them off. During the night, he, with his Momkes, stole into the midst of their camp; calling out in Turkish: "Veliko is here and conquering!" at the same instant he attacked the half-awakened and terrified soldiers, and drove them all before him, in different directions. Such exploits he considered to be sufficient grounds for investing himself with a legitimate authority; and from that time he ruled as Gospodar at Zrnareka.

Thus, although every attempt which was made had not an equally successful result, yet the grand enterprise was, in its main points, achieved beyond all expectation.

The Turks were driven out of the Pachalic of Belgrade; and the Rayahs, free and armed, were in possession of the country and of the fortresses: already the Servian possessions beyond the boundaries included Jadar and Radjevina, the mountain Mirotsch, and Zrnareka.

By these means, the old state of subjection, in which the Servians had been held for centuries, was at once effectually destroyed.

It is deserving of remark, that, in the very days of the slaughter at Belgrade, the Teskeres of the Haradsch arrived; the payment of which tax the Grand Signior still expected. Peter Itschko brought the Teskeres with him from Constantinople, instead of the ratification of his treaty. But in the mean time, the Servians had gained ground so far as to determine never again to pay Haradsch.

The natural tendency of the Christians to liberate themselves from the dominion of the Turks, rapidly exhibited itself among them now that they were victorious and powerful.

Let us next consider how the Servians, having shaken off the Turkish government, managed their internal affairs amongst themselves.

CHAPTER X.

FORMATION OF A SERVIAN GOVERNMENT.

Formation of a Servian Government. — Tendency towards Military Despotism.—Voivodes, Momkes, and Kneses.—Influence of Kara George.—The General Assembly, or Diet.—Constitution of the Civil Court called Sowiet (Council or Senate).—Establishment of Schools. —Courts of Justice.—Election of the Sowietniks, or Members of the Senate.—Influence of Mladen and Miloie in the Senate.—Arrival in Belgrade of Rodofinikin, the Russian Councillor of State.—Consequent Jealousies and Disputes.—Sketch of the Early Life of Kara George.

From a revolt against rebels and usurpers, the Servians had proceeded to make demands of their own to the supreme authority. Those demands, being contrary to the established relations between Mahometans and Christians, the Ottoman government was not disposed to grant, being inclined rather to punish their authors. The Servians had proceeded further: even to an armed resistance against the Sovereign himself; and, at last, to a forcible expulsion of the Turks. They were now again their own masters, and had their country in their own hands.

It might have been supposed, from the peaceful condition of the villages under the *Seoski Kneses*, and of the *Kneshines* under the *Grand Knes*, that the Servians would readily have formed both for the districts and for the whole country, a similar government, consisting of elders, the principal men, and the judges: such was probably the form of government amongst the Servian people in the earliest periods of their existence at the time of their immigration.

The establishment of such a government would, perhaps, have been possible, had the authority of the Turks been at once annihilated; or it might have been achieved through the intervention of some European power, leaving the country its liberty; but it could not be hoped for in the course which events had taken.

In a violent commotion, they had recourse to arms, under the guidance of bold and skilful chiefs, who had, in fact,

gained the victory of independence; and into whose hands the power had fallen: thus the government had been converted from a peaceful into a warlike form.

It has been already noticed, that in the villages the people had all become warlike: that the men equipped and supplied themselves, and in this manner appeared in the field, as free men fighting in their own cause.

They did not take the field under the command of their Kneses; nor did they elect their own leaders; but their officers—*Buljukbashes*, of greater or less authority—were appointed by the Voivodes; who had set themselves up in every direction.

The more powerful chiefs in war, who styled themselves Voivodes, were not only commanders of districts, but they had a force of their own—the Momkes—the only cavalry troops in the country. The Momkes were people settled on the land, and descended from good families; they ate with their leader, and were provided by him with horses and handsome apparel. Though not paid, they received valuable presents, and shared his booty. For this they were bound to their chief in life and in death; and they always formed his suite. They served him as readily against other enemies as against the Turks. Some chiefs had fifty followers. It may be easily imagined that these guards gave the Voivodes more the air of rulers than of merely the heads of districts. By their side a Knes was of comparatively small importance. Some of them arbitrarily laid claim to the tolls in their districts; others appropriated to themselves the possessions of the Turks. When they apportioned the *Poresa*—which was still raised occasionally—they, to some extent, increased its amount for their own benefit. They demanded the tithe, and even compelled the peasants to perform feudal service. How much their dignity was already regarded as an hereditary right, may be gathered from the fact, that, at the death of a Voivode, his son, or even an incompetent brother, was allowed to succeed him.

Yet the Voivodes were not independent. When a government is overthrown, and a new one founded, power will always fall into the hands of those by whom the change has been effected. At this time there were but few Voivodes who were actually powerful: only they who, since the commence-

ment of the revolution, had stood forth as chiefs, and led the people to victory.

Jacob Nenadovitsch had excited the district of Valjevo to insurrection, and had conquered Schabaz. Luka Lasarevitsch, who had been made Voivode of Valjevo, slowly and by degrees detached himself from that chief. When Jacob took Uschize for the first time, he at once appointed a Voivode there, without encountering any resistance; and in the year 1807, he took possession of the two Bosnian districts, Jadar and Radjevina, and now considered himself master of those, as well as of other districts.

Milenko had succeeded in arousing Poscharevaz: being assisted by Peter Dobrinjaz, however, who acted at first, only in a subordinate station. Advancing onwards, Milenko had conquered the district as well as the island of Poretsch; and Peter, the neighbourhood of Parakyn. Ressava was especially in their interest. On the further side of the Morava, they exercised an independent authority; and, like Jacob Nenadovitsch, were styled Gospodars.

In the Schumadia, Kara George also took this rank. His authority, since Katitsch and Tscharapitsch, who originally shared it, had perished, extended over Grozka and Belgrade, as well as Kragujevaz. Poschega, too, had been conquered by him; and the only two chiefs besides himself, who could claim an independent authority, were Milan at Rudnik, and Wniza, the brother of Gjuscha, who had been killed, and whom he succeeded at Smederevo.

It would thus appear that the whole country was on the point of being formed into gospodarships, like the captainships of Klephtes; and that, an opposition of personal interests being thereby created, the seeds of discord would be sown, to spring up at no distant period.

It must be considered fortunate, that the authority of Kara George had, in itself, a certain preponderating influence; from the fact of its extending over the largest district, the Schumadia; and that it also spread itself gradually over the whole country: owing to the same causes that had generally led to the acquisition of authority among this people.

In former times, Kara George had experienced open resistance: once, in the encampment before Belgrade, Jacob Nenadovitsch had the drums beaten in opposition to him,

and plainly told him, that at the Kolubara, his command as a general terminated. But affairs had by degrees changed; and the events of 1806 had given the commander-in-chief a decided superiority. When he again conquered the Potzerina, he appointed a Voivode there, far on the other side of the Kolubara. After that he afforded aid on the other side of the Morava, and gained influence in that quarter also. The conquest of Belgrade had procured for him a general authority. His friends administered the government there; and all the paid troops, with the Bekjares who were stationed at Belgrade,—chiefly Krdschalies who had deserted Guschanz,—might be considered as directly subject to him. The artillery, also, was under his command. The cannon had been procured either by purchase, or by the unexpected skill of a certain Milosav Petrovitsch,*—for the guns which were found in the fortresses had first to be rendered serviceable. Kara George was attended by the greatest number of Momkes, and enjoyed the largest share of military glory. Though the other chiefs had hitherto been rather equal to than under him, yet in the year 1807 he was superior to them all.

A General Assembly was held, annually, for the management of the most important affairs of the state. Soon after New Year's Day, all the Voivodes, with their suites, assembled at a Diet called *Skupschtina.*† They then determined

* This Milosav was undoubtedly a remarkable man. The history of inventions sometimes recommences in individuals.—He was apprenticed to a shoemaker in the Banat, where he so closely observed and studied the mechanical skill of a clockmaker in whose house he happened to lodge, that he removed into another place, and himself commenced business as a clockmaker. Thence he went into Servia, and offered to cast cannon, provided the metal were ready smelted for him. In his early operations he did not appear to succeed. On his first attempt, the mass, which was not thoroughly fused, stopped running; on the second, the metal did indeed flow, but there was not sufficient: and thus Milosav incurred the risk of forfeiting his life as an impostor. However, his third effort succeeded. From that time he had, in one part of his dwelling, a foundry for casting the metal; in another, wood and implements for making wheels; in a third, immense anvils, on which he himself manufactured his tools. He constructed everything himself, from the largest to the smallest. Besides this, he always had in his sleeping-room a number of clocks; for in this handicraft he delighted to exercise himself.

† The word is derived from *Skupiti*, to assemble.

what was to be undertaken in the approaching spring; and each of the Voivodes stated what he had expended for ammunition, for the payment of scouts, and for the care of the wounded, and produced his accounts. Here, too, the new Poresa was fixed. If complaints had been brought against any one, they were here examined; and, more than once, Voivodes were, in consequence, cast into prison. Every necessary arrangement relating to war, as well as to finance and judicature, was under the immediate care of the Skupschtina.

This arrangement brings to mind the *May-field* of the Franconian Royal Stewards,—if we may venture to compare things so remote, and of such different importance,—where the leaders of the army assembled, in like manner, at the head of their men, to deliberate and determine on affairs of war and state.

By this Assembly, the common rule of the Servian commanders was in some measure regulated. Differences of opinion between the leading men—the Commander-in-Chief and the other Gospodars—of course arose occasionally; but their relative shares of power being duly apportioned in the Skupschtina, gave decision to their counsels.

Yet this could not be termed a Government. The Voivodes were not inclined, nor would they have been able, to adjust the disputes which daily arose. During the greater part of the year, they were engaged in the field against the enemy. And, as the war could not be carried on for its own sake, the peaceful fellowships in villages, Kneshines, and Nahis, on which everything depended, had also the right to a share in the conduct of public affairs.

It were superfluous here to show that a regular and well-organized government was needed. This necessity, indeed, had been taken into consideration soon after the first meeting of the Skupschtina. When the deputies who went to St. Petersburgh passed through Charkow, they found there one who might almost be termed a fellow-countryman—a Hungarian Servian, named Philippovitsch, a Doctor of Laws. Unaccustomed to the climate, he was always out of health, and wishing to return to the banks of the Danube, he joined the deputies. He it was who first called the attention of the Servians to the necessity of a permanent court of juris-

diction and administration; and he gained over Jacob Nenadovitsch to that opinion, though not without the assistance of Prota. Kara George also, who, whilst in the Austrian service, had acquired some inclination for law and order, was induced to declare in its favour. Accordingly, it was decided, at a Skupschtina held at Borak, that a legislative institution, such as that proposed, should be established.

Pursuant to this decision, in the year 1805, a Civil Court of the Servian country, called Synod or Sowiet (Council or Senate), was held; first at Blagovjeschtenije, and then at Bogovadja, both of which were cloisters. After the conquest of Smederevo it was held there; but when Belgrade also had been taken, it was removed to that place, as being the capital of Servia.

The Senate consisted of twelve members, corresponding with the number of the districts; and the intention was, that each member should represent the district in which he had been elected, and should belong especially to it. Out of the public chest the Sowietnik received a small salary; which, however, was increased by supplies from the produce of the soil, so as to constitute a sufficient maintenance. These contributions were regulated in a very patriarchal mode: the Sowietnik received only wine, if his Nahia produced wine; but, in other cases, each district sent its representative a couple of cows at Christmas, as provision for the winter. The house in which the *Sowietnik* resided was considered as the property of the district; every inhabitant of which had the right of lodging therein whenever he might come to the city. The members of the Senate were thus obliged to attend especially to the concerns of their respective districts: so far at least as their paramount duty, of devoting themselves to the general affairs of the country, would allow.

Dr. Philippovitsch, who originally formed the plan of the Senate, was appointed secretary, and undertook its direction from the first. This duty he performed in a most satisfactory manner, and left behind him an unblemished reputation.

Under his auspices the Senate formed many important resolutions. He ordered the sale of the houses and land which the Turks had possessed in the towns, and endeavoured to set apart the tithe for the support of the army. There is a letter extant, in which he earnestly warns Peter

Dobrinjaz not to interfere with the ferry of Poscharevaz: the Senate, he said, would appoint a proper officer for it. He moreover reminded Peter that, being a Voivode, he should be satisfied with heading his men; and that it was not his province to meddle with such affairs. He also made many financial regulations: he fixed the imposts, and settled the fees for the performance of clerical functions. But of all that he undertook, his laws respecting schools, and the maintenance of justice, were unquestionably the most important. The only schools in the country—which were indeed rather seminaries for the clerical office, in which a little scanty reading was taught, than real schools—had hitherto been held in the cloisters under the superintendence of the priests. The pupils (Djaks), like boys who learn a trade or profession, were bound to render every sort of service to their master; and were more engaged in tending the cattle, and working in the fields, than in their studies. Now, not only was a small school established in every district town, to afford some elementary instruction; but also, at the suggestion of Jugovitsch, a high school (Welika Schkola) with three teachers was established in Belgrade: where historical and mathematical science, and even the rudiments of jurisprudence, were taught. Jugovitsch himself, formerly professor at Carlowiz, taught there for some time; and his assistants were, like himself, Austrian Servians. Notwithstanding all its imperfections, this school has had a perceptible influence in later years.*

Still more important, at that time, was the establishment of courts of justice. A small extent of jurisdiction was left to the Kmetes of the village; but in every district town, where formerly the Kadi had resided, a magistracy was formed, consisting of a president, an assessor, and a secretary. The Senate appointed the last of these officers, and gave them the necessary instructions, reserving the appeals for their own decision.

By these means, in a country so lately freed from the Turks, the germs of civilisation and progress were immediately planted; in a great measure, after the model presented by the neighbouring state, Austria; but yet by a

* Protitsch, Maxim Rankovitsch (Senator), Lasar Arsenovitsch, and Boschko Thadditsch, were pupils of this establishment.

national impulse, and with peculiar regulations. The Senate, who undertook the superintendence of these regulations, contributed at the same time to the unity of the ruling power. The Senate represented the country at large, as each senator represented his own Nahia.

Was it not the object of these measures to create a counter influence, in opposition to the arbitrary power of the military leaders?

At a first glance it might have so appeared; but such was not the case. The very origin of the senators rendered it almost impossible that it should be so. It was indeed intended that each Sowietnik should be sent by the free election of his district: but how could the people of any place venture to reject the proposal of the Gospodar? On the Gospodar depended the election; and as it rested with him, also, to determine how much of the produce of the district he might be disposed to grant to a friend, the comfortable subsistence of the Sowietnik was equally in his hands. Could a senator so circumstanced act in opposition to the interest of his elector and patron? Could it be expected, for instance, that Jacob Nenadovitsch would be reproved or checked by his nephew, Prota, who was for some time president of the Senate? It is true that, in the very nature of the duties of the Senate, there prevailed to some extent a guarantee of general influence: the mere existence of a central authority gave it rights; but these were far from being always acknowledged. Despite of the decrees of the Senate, some Voivodes retained possession of the custom-houses on the frontier, or of Turkish property; for the Senate was unable to render the magistrates independent of the military chiefs. Commanders habitually feel a consciousness of their own importance, which is readily excited by successful exploits: the Voivodes would not be governed by men of peace. It is well known that at the very commencement, Kara George, when some decrees had been issued which displeased him, went out, assembled his Momkes, and stationed them with their guns pointed against the windows of the Sessions Hall. "It is easy," he exclaimed, "to make laws in comfortable rooms, but who will lead the way should the Turkish army again appear?"

It was only when the military chiefs expected advance-

ment from the Senate, that they cordially recognised its authority. Weliko received from the Sowiet the command of a squadron, with which he conquered Zrnareka.

But another evil arose from the manner in which the Senate was composed.

The Gospodars had hoped that it would afford them a means of limiting the power of the commander-in-chief; Kara George, on the contrary, that it would assist him in controlling his rivals. As the electors of the Sowietniks were influenced by these opposite feelings, it was unavoidable that the disputes which divided their constituents should appear also in the Senate. Let us examine the differences which thus arose.

Among the senators, two especially sided with Kara George: these were Mladen Milovanovitsch, deputy for Kragujevaz, and Ivan Jugovitsch—who, after the premature death of Philippovitsch, had succeeded that statesman in the office of secretary; with perhaps equal knowledge and ability, but not with an equally blameless demeanour. Mladen was intimately connected with Kara George; coming from the same province, pursuing the same calling, and with similar fortune: for he also had served in the Austrian war, and had subsequently been chosen Heyduc; moreover his nephew was married to the daughter of Kara George. Occasionally Mladen was intrusted with the control of several Voivodes of minor consequence. War, however, was not his peculiar element. He was very tall and powerful, but somewhat awkward in his gait, and his presence in the field was not deemed auspicious. But in council he was altogether in his proper place. He had the ability to deliver his opinion with such convincing eloquence, that no one ventured to controvert what he advanced. In the year 1807, he had the conduct of affairs entirely in his hands: people said, "Mladen alone is the Senate." But he did not always exercise his power blamelessly.

Mladen was also most intimately allied with Miloie, another old companion in his profession; and these two, who lived in the same house, ruled Belgrade by the assistance of the Bekjares and Momkes. At the capture of the fortress, the best part of the booty had fallen to their share; and they continued from time to time to gain possession of the most serviceable

houses and vaults in the town; the most lucrative magazines, and the finest landed property in the country. By constantly retaining in their possession the custom-houses of Belgrade and Ostruschnitza, they brought the greatest part of the trade with foreign countries into their own hands. It is true they farmed the tolls and bought the houses and estates: but on terms imposed by themselves; which, in fact, made their transactions scarcely less unjust and tyrannical. Frequently they forced the peasants to perform feudal service, or socage. In short, without their participation, no one could venture to enter upon any business of importance.

Proceedings of this nature recal to mind the fact, that, only a short time previously, the country had groaned under a despotic government; the conduct of which these men seemed desirous to imitate. Very fortunately there existed a party who had an almost personal interest in opposing their views.

Abram Lukitsch, from the districts of Rudnik and Poschega, a friend of Milan; and Ivan Protitsch, from the Nahia of Milenko-Poscharevaz, showed themselves especially zealous on the subject; and at length they procured a decree for the removal of Mladen from Belgrade. All the Sowietniks confirmed this decree by their signatures or their seals, and Kara George assented. Mladen was commissioned to lead the Bekjares to Deligrade; and he accordingly set out on the expedition. Jugovitsch, equally obnoxious to the senators, also had to give way to them.

Soon after, however, Kara George, under circumstances of yet greater pressure, thought himself justified in restricting the power of the Senate.

In consequence of the relations entered into with Russia, the Russian councillor of state, Rodofinikin, had come to Belgrade on the solicitation of the Servian deputies. From the first, Kara George had disapproved of this. He objected that Rodofinikin was a Greek; that the Greeks had ever been suspected, nay, even hated, by the Servians; who were, at that very time, on bad terms with the Metropolitan, Leonti, also a Greek. His objection, however, came too late: the deputies were already on their way back with the Russian councillor.

Rodofinikin, who probably was not aware of the prejudice

existing against him, on his arrival not only entered upon a friendly understanding with Leonti, but censured much in the conduct of the Servians; he advised them to make the Momkes paid troops, and to restrain the arbitrary power of the Voivodes. Aversion and suspicion were consequently excited against him in the minds of many. Kara George was persuaded that Rodofinikin was in alliance with his rivals: Mladen and Jugovitsch represented to him, that people attacked *them*, only for the purpose of overthrowing *him;* and that with this object Rodofinikin and Leonti sided with his native opponents. Moreover they contended that the design of the two Greeks went yet further: that it was their wish to subject Servia to a Greek government, such as existed in Moldavia and Wallachia; and that for this end they had been gained over by the Fanariotes. On this point, Jugovitsch had many stories in readiness. He stated that, of two deputies who had come from Constantinople under pretence of making proposals for peace, and who had been ordered to return, one, named Nicolaus, had nevertheless remained at Belgrade, and entered into the service of Leonti; and that the Metropolitan had, even in the depth of winter, set out in his company, under the pretext of collecting his Dimnitza, but in reality to excite the multitude against their chiefs. Leonti, he said, had asked the people, "why they fought for their chiefs—for men whose design it was first to enrich themselves, and then to flee with their riches, and to give the peasants up to the Turks? It would be better for them to submit to the Turks at once."—It could not be believed, added Jugovitsch, but that there was an understanding between Leonti and Rodofinikin; else why should the latter, when new ambassadors from Constantinople appeared in the Kraina, have contrived to be commissioned to negotiate with them himself? He had gone to meet them, accompanied by Leonti and Nicolaus; but no negotiation whatever had been brought under discussion. Secret designs had been there agreed upon, whilst the parties were standing conversing, two and two, together.

On these representations, Kara George considered it almost as a duty he owed to his country to assert his own personal authority—for what event could have been more pernicious to the country than its falling under the rapacious domination

of the Fanariotes? Without delay, he banished Nicolaus; and Leonti also was made to feel his displeasure. He took especial care, too—in order to prevent an influence of so dangerous a nature from acquiring a preponderance in the Senate—that his two friends should resume their seats in that assembly. And no one ventured to oppose him. Mladen, it is true, visited the Sessions only now and then; yet he enjoyed greater influence, and was more feared than ever.

Such manifold opposition of the civil administration to the military chiefs, and of the Gospodars to the commander-in-chief, together with disputes concerning internal and external relations, disturbed this government, even at the commencement of its formation; yet they were unable to destroy its unity. This was sustained by the authority of the commander-in-chief; which, though unquestionably much restricted, already extended over all parts of the country, had the preponderance in the Skupschtina, and could influence the decisions of the Senate. Victorious success in arms had laid the foundation of this authority; but without great tact and natural talent, it could not have been preserved in its integrity. Kara George will be ever memorable, not only as having led the insurrection against the Turks, but also as the founder of a comprehensive national authority throughout the country. He well deserved to be regarded as the chief of the nation. Let us pause a moment, to consider his history and character, manners and personal appearance.

George Petrovitsch, called Kara, or *Zrni* the *black*, was born between the years 1760 and 1770, in the village of Wischevzi, in the district of Kragujevaz. He was the son of a peasant named Petroni; and in his early youth he went with his parents higher up into the mountain to Topola. In the very first commotion of the country—which was in the year 1787, when an invasion by the Austrians was expected—he took a part that decided the character of his future life. He saw himself compelled to flee; and not wishing to leave his father behind,* amongst the Turks, he took him also, with all his moveable property and cattle. Thus he proceeded

* It has been stated that Petroni was his step-father: we are informed of the truth of this by one of Kara George's most intimate acquaintances. But this supposition does not offer any mitigation of such a crime: a less degree of affection would have rendered the deed more cruel.

towards the Save, but the nearer they approached that river, the more alarmed became his father: who from the first, would have preferred surrendering, as many others had done, and often advised him to return. Once again, and in the most urgent manner, when they already beheld the Save before them, the old man said, "Let us humble ourselves, and we shall obtain pardon. Do not go to Germany, my son: as surely as my bread may prosper thee, do not go." But George remained inexorable. His father was at last equally resolved: "Go, then, over alone," he said: "I remain in this country." "How!" replied Kara George, "shall I live to see thee slowly tortured to death by the Turks? It is better that I should kill thee myself on the spot!" Then, seizing a pistol, he instantly shot his father, and ordered one of his companions to give the death-blow to the old man, who was writhing in agony. In the next village, Kara said to the people, "Get the old man who lies yonder buried for me, and drink also for his soul at a funeral feast." For that purpose he made them a present of the cattle which he had with him, and then crossed the Save.

This deed, which was the first indication of his character, threw him out of the common course. He returned to his own district, with the rank of Serjeant, in the corps of volunteers; but, believing himself unjustly passed over at a distribution of medals, he retired into the mountains as a Heyduc. However, he became reconciled in this matter with his colonel, Mihaljevitsch: went with him after the peace to Austria; and was made "forest-keeper" in the cloister of Kruschedol. But he did not rest satisfied in Austria; and as, under Hadji Mustafa, he had nothing to fear in Servia, he returned thither, and from that time followed his business—that of a dealer in swine. The outrages of the Dahis hurried him into the movements in which he was destined to perform so important a part.

Kara George was a very extraordinary man. He would sit for days together without uttering a word, biting his nails. At times, when addressed, he would turn his head aside and not answer. When he had taken wine, he became talkative; and if in a cheerful mood, he would perhaps lead off a Kolo-dance.*

* In the "Poetical Works" of the Rev. George Croly, LL.D., is a

Splendour and magnificence he despised. In the days of his greatest success, he was always seen in his old blue trousers, in his worn-out short pelt, and his well-known black cap. His daughter, even whilst her father was in the exercise of princely authority, was seen to carry her water-vessel, like other girls in the village. Yet strange to say, he was not insensible to the charms of gold.

In Topola, he might have been taken for a peasant. With his Momkes, he would clear a piece of forest land, or conduct water to a mill; and then they would fish together in the brook Jasenitza. He ploughed and tilled the ground; and spoilt the insignia of the Russian Order with which he had been decorated, whilst putting a hoop on a cask. It was in battle only that he appeared a warrior. When the Servians saw him approach, surrounded by his Momkes, they took fresh courage. Of lofty stature, spare, and broad-shouldered, his face seamed by a large scar, and enlivened with sparkling deep-set eyes, he could not fail to be instantly recognised. He would spring from his horse, for he preferred fighting on foot; and though his right hand had been disabled from a wound received when a Heyduc, he contrived to use his rifle

fine sketch of the person and character of this heroic individual, with an equally noble effusion relating to his death: the description of which, however, is not in accordance with the account given by Ranke:—"His appearance was striking and singular. He was boldly formed, and above the general stature. But the extraordinary length of his physiognomy, his sunken eyes, and his bold forehead, bound with a single black tress of hair, gave him a look rather Asiatic than European.

——————— His brow is bare,
Save one wild tress of raven hair,
Like a black serpent deeply bound,
Where once sat Servia's golden round."

Amongst the anecdotes related of him, is the following: "When a boy, being ordered by a Turk to stand out of the way, or have his brains blown out, he shot the Turk on the spot. Hatred of the oppressors of his country was probably mingled here with individual temper."

"This man," forcibly observes Dr. Croly, "was one of the bold creations of wild countries and troubled times—beings of impetuous courage, iron strength, original talent, and doubtful morality. Civilization levels and subdues the inequalities of the general mind; barbarism shows, with the desolation, the grandeur of the wilderness—the dwarfed and the gigantic side by side, a thousand diminished and decaying productions overshadowed by one mighty effort of savage fertility."—TRANSL.

most skilfully. Wherever he appeared, the Turks became panic-stricken; for victory was believed to be invariably his companion.

In affairs of peace, Kara George evinced, as has been shown, a decided inclination for a regular course of proceeding; and, although he could not himself write, he was fond of having business carried on in writing; he allowed matters to follow their own course for a long time together; but, if they were carried too far, his very justice was violent and terrible. His only brother, presuming on his name and relationship, took unwarrantable license; and for a long time, Kara George overlooked his misconduct; but at length he did violence to a young maiden, whose friends complained loudly; exclaiming, that it was for crimes of such a character that the nation had risen against the Turks. Kara George was so greatly enraged at this vile deed, that he ordered this only brother, whom he loved, to be hanged at the door of the house; and forbade his mother to mourn outwardly for the death of her son!

Generally speaking, he was kindly disposed; yet he would readily accredit what was related to him in prejudice of another, although a short time before convinced of the contrary; and if once irritated and angry, he could not be restrained. He would not even pause to tell his Momkes to beat the offender to the ground, but he would himself slay his adversary; and he spared none. To the Knes Theodosi, he was indebted for his dignity; yet he slew him. When such an event had occurred, he would weep, and exclaim, "May God punish him who gave cause for the quarrel!" Yet he was not vindictive: when he had once pardoned an offender, he never recurred again to the offence.

Such was Kara George: a character of extraordinary strength; unconscious, as it were of its own powers,—brooding in the vague sense of dormant energies; till aroused to action by some event of the moment: but then bursting forth into vigorous activity; for good or for evil, as circumstances might direct.

His character much resembles that of the heroes celebrated in the national songs of Servia.

Howsoever much of a barbarian he might be, Kara George was now playing a part of no slight importance in the world.

He established the principle of the emancipation of the subject Christian nations from the government and power of the Turks; and towards him all eyes were now directed.*

Nothing had as yet been settled or acknowledged respecting the position of the Servians. They were still in the midst of war; which was carried on with greater or less zeal, as the position of European affairs permitted. By degrees, those affairs took such a turn as to present a very fair prospect of success to the efforts of the Servians who were struggling to establish their independence.

* Mr. Paton, in his Work entitled "Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family," describes an interview which he had with the son of Kara George. Mr. Paton observed to the Prince:—

"Your Highness's father had a great name as a soldier; I hope that your rule will be distinguished by rapid advancement in the arts of civilization."

"This," continues Mr. Paton, "led to a conversation relative to the late Kara George; and the Prince rising, led me into another apartment, where the portrait of his father, the duplicate of one painted for the Emperor Alexander, hung from the wall. He was represented in the Turkish dress, and wore his pistols in his girdle; the countenance expressed not only intelligence, but a certain refinement, which one would scarcely expect in a warrior peasant; but all his contemporaries agree in representing him to have possessed an inherent superiority and nobility of nature, which in any station would have raised him above his equals."

The same writer transcribes the following passage from a paper by Marshal Diebitch, who was employed on a confidential mission from the Russian Government in Servia, during the years 1810 and 1811; the original of which is in possession of the Servian Government:—

"George Petrovitch, to whom the Turks have given the name of Kara or Black, is an important character. His countenance shows a greatness of mind, which is not to be mistaken; and when we take into consideration the times, circumstances, and the impossibility of his having received an education, we must admit that he has a mind of a masculine and commanding order. The imputation of cruelty and bloodthirstiness appears to be unjust. When the country was without the shadow of a constitution, and when he commanded an unorganized and uncultivated nation, he was compelled to be severe; he dared not vacillate, or relax his discipline; but now that there are courts of law, and legal forms, he hands every case over to the regular tribunals. He has very little to say for himself, and is rude in his manners; but his judgments in civil affairs are promptly and soundly framed, and to great address he joins unwearied industry. As a soldier, there is but one opinion of his talents, bravery, and enduring firmness."—*Servia, the Youngest Member of the European*

CHAPTER XI.

RELATIONS OF SERVIA TO THE GENERAL STATE OF EUROPE AND TURKEY.

Turkey joins the Second Coalition against France.—Napoleon abandons his Scheme of an Eastern Empire.—The War of 1806.—French Influence at Constantinople.—Relations of the European Powers with Turkey.—Connexion of Russia with the Servians.—Opposing Parties in the Ottoman Empire.—Deposition of Selim III.—At the Peace of Tilsit, Buonaparte deserts the Cause of the Turks.—His Views regarding Turkey.—Recommencement of Hostilities between the Servians and Turks in 1809.—Servia is supported by Russia.

THE great conflict which agitated Europe, on the overthrow of the ancient kingly power in France, extended also to the Ottoman Empire, which rests on totally different foundations; and affected, to a great extent, its foreign relations and its internal condition: not indeed through its constitutional sympathies and antipathies, but incidentally, by the vicissitudes of war and politics.

Considered in itself, a change of government in France was most welcome to the Divan. It calculated that this power would now assume towards Austria, whom the Turks still regarded as an enemy, a more decided language and demeanour than the old government had ventured to adopt.

But the spirit of conquest, which had seized the revolutionised nation, displayed itself also in the East. The great general of the French Republic, Napoleon Buonaparte, conceived the idea of founding an Eastern Empire: he took possession of Egypt, and invaded Syria. The natural consequence of these events was, that the Porte took part against France, and joined the second coalition. A squadron of the allied Turks and Russians appeared off the Italian coast; and the Caliph of Roumelia, as the Sultan styled himself, made every exertion to reinstate the Pope at Rome.

Family; or, a Residence in Belgrade, and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the Years 1843 *and* 1844. By ANDREW ARCHIBALD PATON, ESQ., Author of *The Modern Syrians*, 1845.—TRANSL.

At length Napoleon judged it was more prudent to rule France, than to oppose all the forces of the world in a distant land; where, cut off from the mother country, he must finally be subdued by them. He, therefore, gave up both Egypt and Syria, and prepared to form a Western instead of an Eastern Empire.

A better understanding was in consequence soon established between him and the Porte. As Napoleon acknowledged the integrity of its territory, the Porte did not hesitate to renew the ancient privileges which the French had enjoyed during the reign of their kings; and even to allow them the free navigation of the Black Sea. Such concessions might now be granted without hesitation: so long, at least, as peace was maintained on the continent. But would it be safe if war should again break out between the great continental powers and Napoleon? Such was the case in the year 1805; and it became a question with the Porte, which of the two parties it would prefer joining.

For a while the Porte hesitated. At times the Russian ambassador seemed likely to carry everything at Constantinople; but the Turkish government vacillated, and delayed coming to any conclusion that might prove prejudicial to the French.

At this juncture the news of the battle of Austerlitz arrived. The defeat of the Russians afforded extreme satisfaction to the population of Constantinople. The Porte also began to have confidence in the 'star' of Napoleon; and now, for the first time, acknowledged him as Emperor (*Pàdischah*) of the French. Napoleon assured the Turkish ambassador that the successes and reverses of the one state were those of the other—that the enemies of the Turks were his also—that the Sultan was his oldest and most valued ally.*

It is a fact not always remembered, that the affairs of Turkey, almost as much as those of Germany, led to the war of 1806.

In order to prevent the influence which, by the possession of Dalmatia, the French would certainly obtain over the neighbouring Turkish provinces and even over the Divan itself, England and Russia determined that Dalmatia should

* Réponse de l'Empereur à un discours de l'Ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane 5 Juin, 1806.

not be conceded to France. The two allies would have preferred rather to make use of its coasts for an attack on Northern Italy, then under French dominion; in order to take possession of the Bays of Cattaro. The Russians, now in occupation of Corfu, united with the people of Montenegro, who rose in multitudes; and brought the advancing French, if not into great danger, at least into serious difficulties. At that time England would not have objected, if Russia had possessed herself also of Belgrade.

The intentions of the allies, which could not be concealed, greatly facilitated the purpose of General Sebastiani, whom Napoleon had sent to Constantinople, to win over the Divan entirely to the French interest. The alliance of Russia with the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire was one of the weightiest reasons urged by the General. He knew well what he was about when he induced the Porte to depose the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; who were accused, amongst other offences, of a secret understanding with the Servians. For as the existing treaties stipulated that this should not be done without consulting Russia, open war with that power must consequently ensue.

The immense advantages obtained by this proceeding are worthy of particular remark. In consequence of this step, Russia found an occupation which prevented the full development of her forces in favour of Prussia; a large army being forthwith despatched into Moldavia. Moreover, this at present one-sided interference of the Russians, with the territories of the Lower Danube, excited a strong jealousy in Austria. According to the documents which have come before us on this subject, there can be no doubt that the adoption of these measures constituted one of the chief reasons why Austria did not join the alliance between Prussia and Russia.* It was also proposed to her to unite with France and Turkey: but this offer it would have been still less possible for her to have accepted.

In the meantime, the connexion between the French and the Turks was daily becoming closer. The news of the

* According to "The Historical Memoir of a Mission to the Court of Vienna, in 1806," by Sir Robert Adair, pp. 104, 108, this appears to have been the chief result of that mission. No one any longer believed that Fox had ever been disposed to leave Sicily to Napoleon.

success of Napoleon against Prussia, and his march into Poland, materially contributed to induce the Porte, in the month of December, 1806 — despite the threats of the English—to declare war against Russia, with all the solemnity of a religious ceremony.

The Turks are said to have flattered themselves that they should form a junction with the French troops on the Dniester, or even on the Danube, and thus be enabled to re-conquer the Crimea. When the English made good their threats, and with a considerable squadron appeared before Constantinople, the Divan was resolute in rejecting their demands. They who most strongly encouraged the Turks in forming this resolution, and afterwards made them adhere to it, were Sebastiani and his suite; men all well experienced in war; and who now assisted, or rather directed them in their preparations for defence.* The result was that the English, everywhere else victorious, withdrew. After this we find the progress of the Turkish arms against the Russians announced, in Napoleon's bulletins, as his own success. On a congress for peace being suggested, Buonaparte demanded the admission of Turkish plenipotentiaries; and when, on the 28th of May, 1807, the Turkish ambassador was presented to him at the Castle of Finkenstein, Napoleon declared, that "himself and the Grand Signior were now inseparable as the right and left hands."†

It would not be difficult to trace the relations into which the European powers were thus brought with the internal affairs of Turkey.

We have already seen, that the union into which Russia had entered with the Servians, was continually becoming closer; so that at length she sent a division of troops into the Kraina to their assistance. There is a letter from the seat of war in that country, in which Kara George relates,

* Bignon, t. vi., p. 193: L'Ambassadeur de France est en même tems le premier ministre et le connêtable du Grand Seigneur. Adair, on the 4th of April, 1807, writes: "General Sebastiani is completely master at Constantinople, presides over the deliberations of the Divan, and directs all their measures."

† 77me bulletin de la grande armée Finckenstein, le 28 Mai, 1807. It is true that it is there only said "on assure," but that is sufficient evidence. Compare Thibaudeau, *L'Empire.*

with exultation, "that 1500 Turks had been killed on the spot—that eight redoubts, with all their cannon and bombs, had been taken—that a chest full of ducats had fallen into their hands, together with Arabian horses, and costly trappings in abundance—that such of the Turks as had escaped, had saved nothing but their lives, and that the Pacha had effected his escape on a Wallachian mare." He knew not how sufficiently to extol the valour of the Russians. If this action produced no other results, it at least established a good fellowship in arms between the Russians and Servians.

In like manner, in the spring of the year 1807, the Russians assisted the people of Montenegro in an attack upon the Turkish fortresses of Nikschitschi and Klobug. The Montenegrins were devoted in their attachment to the Emperor of Russia, even beyond what might have been expected under such circumstances. In one of their petitions they designated themselves his subjects.*

The Greek Armatoles, also, who from year to year had become more aware of their own importance, with Enthymios Blacchavas, who already cherished the idea of a general deliverance of Greece,† were on good terms with the Russians; to whom Parga once more stood indebted for its deliverance from Ali Pacha.

On the other hand, Napoleon was in constant intercourse with Ali Pacha, who had friendly relations with the party at this time prevailing at Constantinople. The Pacha boasted that Napoleon had placed cannon at his disposal;‡ and it seems probable that a combined attack on the Seven Islands had been in contemplation. The Montenegrins affirm, that on their attacking Klobug, the French troops from Ragusa had come to the assistance of the Turks. French officers are said also to have directed the resistance which the Bosnians, in 1807, made against the Servians: a statement originating from the circumstance that the Bosnian artillery was far better served, and proved far more effective than on former

* Sujets fidèles de Votre Majesté. Rapport de Stroganoff à l'Empereur Alexandre. Lebensbilder, ii. p. 194.

† Emerson's History of Modern Greece, ii. p. 500.

‡ In a letter of Napoleon's, Osterode, le 7 Avril, 1807, communicated by Segur, we read: *Déjà des canons ont été mis à la disposition du Pasha de Janina.*

occasions.* The fact cannot be affirmed with certainty, but the events of the period afford sufficient grounds for its belief.

Napoleon—who, since his Egyptian campaign, had entertained a high opinion of the qualifications of Turkish soldiers —now called upon the Sultan to leave his Seraglio, to place himself at the head of his troops, and to renew the glorious days of the Ottoman Empire. This he considered to be practicable in the very way that Selim had adopted, through the medium of military reforms; in which he encouraged him to the utmost of his power. It is certain that at one period of his youth, when circumstances in France appeared to promise little in his favour, Buonaparte had himself intended to assist in the military regeneration of the Turkish Empire. There is a note extant, written at the time referred to, in which he assumes that it was a political necessity for France to improve the military force of Turkey, and cause her again to be the dread of neighbouring states. That was the opinion which he now expressed. The assistance of French engineers and artillery officers made the defence of Constantinople against the English possible at this time, and showed what the Turks might accomplish under skilful guidance.

Thus the great states of Europe were connected, by their sympathies, with the two opposing tendencies in the Ottoman Empire: the allied powers were anxious for the elevation and advancement of the different nations; France for military reform.

There existed, however, in the Empire, a third party, opposed to both the others—its tendency being that of upholding the old Islam system, without any reform, in unconditional dominion over the Rayahs. This party once more became formidable. It has been seen that Selim III. was unable fully to enforce his orders that the Janissaries should be disciplined according to the European system. It was

* At the head-quarters of Jacob Nenadovitsch, nothing was ever seen or heard of French artillery prisoners; respecting whom, a report from the army (östreichische militärische Zeitschrift, 1821) says so much. The Servians, it is true, also considered that French officers were amongst the Turks, from the fact that their artillery had been more effective than formerly.

only by destroying the contumacious chiefs, and by making war against the provinces in which they had the upper hand, that this point could have been carried; and to effect this, Selim was in want of what a reforming prince above all requires: the assistance and support of the lower and unprivileged classes. Against these, on the contrary, he was, by the religious nature of his power, compelled to maintain a constant warfare. Such of his Mahometan subjects as he had been able in some measure to organize, were insufficient to effect his object. When the Caramanian troops marched towards the Danube, shortly before the breaking out of the Russian war—and perhaps but in expectation of that event—the united Krdschalies and Janissaries encountered them in a favourable position in Babaeski on the Yena, and defeated them so completely that they could never recover the blow.* The conduct of the Sultan, in having defended his capital by the aid of the French, might have been so far satisfactory to the strict Moslems; but it had also the effect of arousing their pride, and exciting their fear, lest he should now more and more incline to the strangers, and to their institutions.

Relieved from the presence of the English and the Russians,—for their fleet also had retired,—supported by the French, and assured of their further assistance, the Sultan at length once more ventured to apply himself earnestly to the reformation of the Janissaries. At this, however, the spirit of ancient Islamism aroused itself with the wild fanaticism and obstinate defiance which are its peculiar characteristics. The first step taken by Selim amongst the Lazes and Arnautic Jamaks in the castles on the Bosphorus, excited open rebellion against him in his capital: the Janissaries overturned their camp-kettles, as an intimation that they would no longer accept food from Sultan Selim. No precautionary measures had been taken to lead them back to their duty: neither the Topdschi, on whom Selim had expended so much, nor the Mufti, whom he had installed, were on his side. And consequently the ministers who had sanctioned the innovation, atoned for it with their lives. The Sultan himself was then declared to be dethroned; for having abandoned himself to

* August 1806. Juchereau de St. Denys, Revolutions de Constantinople, ii. 30.

Christian vices, and violated the holy ordinances of the Koran. Selim experienced the fate of many other reforming princes, who had no extraordinary resources to fall back upon: that of being overthrown by the powers which he assailed.

For more than a twelvemonth, these disturbances continued, with various results, to agitate the capital. An adherent of Selim's, Mustafa Bairactar, who had made himself Vizier, furthered these attempts at reform for some time; and with greater forbearance towards existing abuses than might have been expected. But the Janissaries revolted also against him; and the Ulemas accused him of designing to render the nation of the faithful similar, and at last subject, to the infidels. After long and often doubtful conflicts, the Vizier Bairactar was overthrown, with all his friends.

The old religious military system, with its privileges and abuses—which had become hereditary—was established more firmly than ever; by this triple victory over the Caramanian Pacha, the Sultan, and the reforming Vizier. If the young Mahmoud, the only surviving scion of the Ottoman dynasty, had indeed imbibed the ideas of his uncle Selim, he was under the necessity of concealing them. For a long time, no farther thought could be given to the reforms which that monarch had designed.*

Meanwhile the political relations with Europe had also undergone a change.

At the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon deserted the cause of the Turks. He made the revolution, through which Selim had been deposed, the pretext for this step; and in one of his *bulletins* he styled the nation "Anti-Christian." But even his greatest admirers do not affirm that this was his real motive; which was that he considered it of more importance to induce Russia to unite with him in hostilities against England.† He had now commenced the development of a

* Juchereau de St. Denys, ii. 238: "On renonça à jamais aux institutions militaires des Francs,—on prononça anathème contre ceux qui en parleraient,—l'ancien ordre des choses fut rétabli: les janissaires et les oulémas reprirent leur droits et leur influence politique.

† Bignon, in his Reflections on the Peace of Tilsit, vi. 346, discusses the question, whether "le reproche fait à Napoléon d'avoir sacrifié la

system, in which he abandoned the traditionary rules of the ancient policy of France, and sacrificed her old allies to their adversaries: so far at least as his own advantage for the moment might require. In the first instance he thought of appropriating to himself, in conjunction with Russia, some provinces of European Turkey. Austria was also at one time invited to participate in a division of the Ottoman Empire. He next conceived the idea of stipulating for an equivalent in Germany, in return for the acquisitions which he would allow Russia to make on the side of Turkey; and had selected Silesia for this object. Soon, however, his ambition took a still more extended range. He stated that he should be satisfied, if he were left to pursue, undisturbed, his designs for the acquisition of Spain; and in return for this, he would not hesitate definitively to allow Russia to take possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. In consequence of the Peace of Tilsit, a truce had been concluded; but the negotiations which were entered upon did not lead to any result, on account of the vastness of these pretensions.

On the 12th of October, 1808, at Erfurt, Napoleon promised that, should the cession of those provinces be further refused, and a war break out in consequence, he would not take part in it so long as it was caried on by the Porte alone; but should any European power interfere, he would then make common cause with Russia. The advancing of the Russian boundaries as far as the Danube was expressly agreed to; and Napoleon declared that no peace should be concluded with England, unless she recognized the incorporation of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of Finland, into the Russian Empire.*

It is not our object to enlarge upon the projects and fluctuating designs which were formed at this memorable epoch; when only three great powers—England, France, and Russia—seemed to exist: more particularly as they led to no important results. It concerns us only to notice the

Turquie," were well founded. He replies: "Tout se réduit à savoir, quel était en 1807 le parti le plus utile à la France, ou de procurer à la Turquie une complète satisfaction, ou de faire entrer la Russie dans le système continental. Le choix alors ne pouvait pas être douteux."

* Articles 5–10 of the Treaty; given in Bignon's Histoire de France depuis la Paix de Tilsit, tom. ii. chap. i.

great influences—the constellations, as it were—under which the Servians carried on their war against the Porte. These, as compared with the circumstances of former times, were certainly not a little changed.

The dissensions between a reforming Sultan and the rebellious politico-military power of his empire, out of which their insurrection had arisen, could no longer be of service to the Servians. It was the old accustomed Ottoman rule, which was again to be imposed upon them, and which they had now to resist. On the other hand they found, when the expected war recommenced in 1809, that the Russians were their allies more decidedly than ever. A powerful support would be afforded to them against the Turks, if the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to remain for ever in the hands of the Russians, as had been arranged at Erfurt.

And even while this was undecided, they enjoyed the advantage of having nothing to fear from hostility on the part of Napoleon, who had the command of the coasts; nor had they any cause to apprehend that the Bosnian cannon would ever again be served by French artillerymen.

CHAPTER XII.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1809 AND 1810. FARTHEST EXTENT OF THE BOUNDARIES.

Enterprise of Knes Sima against Bosnia.—The Sword of Meho Orugdschitsch.—Kara George's New Expedition.—Poetical Eulogium on Kara George.—Panic and Defeat of the Turks.—Jealousies between Peter Dobrinjaz and Miloie.—Stephen Singelitsch, Knes of Ressaver, blows up his Fort.—Successful Progress of the Turks.—Retreat of Kara George to the Frontier.—Heroism of the Heyduc Veliko.—The Turks possess themselves of the Country to the Right of the Morava.—Rodofinikin, the Russian Envoy, leaves Belgrade and crosses the Danube.—The Russian Army crosses the Lower Danube.—Repulse of the Turks.—Internal Disunion among the Servians.—Russian Proclamation on the Opening of the Campaign in 1810.—The Servians determine on the Conquest of the Kraina.—Churschid-Ali, the New Pacha of Nisch, approaches the Morava, with an Army of 30,000 men.—Fortresses taken and the Country laid waste by Churschid-Ali.—The Servians reinforced by a Detachment of 3000 men under Colonel O'Rourke.—Successes of the Servians.—Kara George marches to the Relief of Losnitza.—The Turks are defeated by the Servians.—Close of the Campaign.

The Servian song which relates the commencement of the revolution, threatens the Bosnians with a day when the Drina should be crossed, and Bosnia itself be attacked.

This had been attempted in the year 1807, but as it has been seen, with little success. In 1809 the attempt was renewed. The Servians were then better prepared than before, and were even provided with some troops equipped after the European manner. Under these favourable circumstances they had a better prospect of success; and, at first, they were encouraged by brilliant results.

Knes Sima—whom Kara George had put in the place of Jacob Nenadovitsch, who was disabled by a wound—caused his troops to cross the Drina at three different points, and surrounded and vigorously attacked such fortified places as were in the neighbourhood of the passage: Beljina and Janja, Srebrniza, and higher up, Vischegrade. He then, with the main body of his forces, ascended the Bosnian range of hills. The Turks made a gallant resistance. Here fell Meho

Orugdschitsch, of whom a song makes particular mention: often in aftertimes Luka Lasarevitsch showed the sword which that commander had worn, bearing the inscription, "CAROLUS VI." However, the Bosnians were compelled to give way. Wherever the Servians advanced, the Bosnian Rayahs rose; headed by men of good repute, such as Knes Ivan, who had paid the ransom for the prisoners of Kulin.

In the meantime Kara George undertook a still more daring enterprise.

There is extant a spirited poetical eulogium by the then Vladika of Montenegro, on the valour and unanimity of the Servians, before whose arms the Turkish mosques fell to the ground and the Hodscha gave way; and likewise on Kara George, who again unfurled the banner of the Emperor Nemanjitsch, and whom the Vili adorn with wreaths of laurel; a reward not to be obtained by gold, but only by glorious deeds. The hero of the poem, however, is not satisfied with the enjoyment of the success he has achieved, but determines to drive the Turks out of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to form an alliance with Montenegro: which, situated in the midst of Turks and Catholics, has, from remote times, enjoyed freedom purchased by the blood of its people.

This, in fact, was the project of Kara George, in the spring of 1809; and the song shows with what pleasure he was expected.

He first ascended the lofty mountain near Sjenitza, for the purpose of joining his distant brethren in faith, who inhabited the ancient possessions of the Servian Empire, on the Raschka, and on the Lim, above the point of its junction with the Drina.

The Turks encountered him with a strong force, in a position very favourable to them, on the mountain-plain of Suvodol; where there are wide plains on which the Turkish cavalry could manœuvre with advantage. Kara George, who, from want of cavalry, had always avoided the plains, with horror saw himself surrounded. He formed the newly-organized troops beside his artillery: which, however, could not have saved him. But, fortunately, he had also a few horsemen; and it was one of them, Vule Ilitsch, of Smederevo, who, by means of a daring stratagem, decided the fate of the

day. Mounted on his good Arab steed, and accompanied by Momkes and Bekjares, he rushed amongst the enemy, at the same time calling out repeatedly, in Turkish, "The Turks are flying!" This produced a panic, and led to the complete defeat of the Pacha.

After this, Kara George was able to pursue his course. He stormed Sjenitza, the ruins of which have been seen by recent travellers; and he advanced into the territory of Vasojevitsch and Drobnjake. The Christian population rose in every direction; and soon, also, some of the Montenegrins made their appearance to welcome their victorious brethren. What most excited their admiration were the Servian cannon—many of them having never before seen anything of the kind. A Servian Voivode remained with them; and thus a union between Servia and Montenegro was effected: Herzegovina, as well as the part of Bosnia already spoken of, joined in the insurrection. A rising of the whole of the population descended from Servian tribes holding the Christian faith, and a general attack on the Mahometans in Bosnia, were now anticipated.

Kara George proceeded forthwith to Novipasar; which commands, almost exclusively, the communication between Roumelia and Bosnia, and forms the central point of the high-roads, and of the traffic of Bosnia; he drove the garrison into the upper fortress, which did not appear able to hold out long against him.

Here, however, the most unwelcome news reached him from the lower districts.

Favoured by inundations, which had for some time prevented the Russians from passing over the Danube, the Turks, with all their forces from Nisch, had thrown themselves upon the Servian frontiers near Alexinaz.

More than once, had Peter Dobrinjaz successfully and gloriously defended these frontier posts; and at this time, he was stationed there, with a great number of his countrymen. On Mladen's recommendation, however, Kara George now entrusted the chief command to Miloie; a man whom Peter was not disposed to obey, and who was himself unable to conquer the hatred which he entertained against Peter and all his adherents. The contest which had hitherto shown itself only in the Senate, was thus transferred to the frontier; now in the greatest peril.

The first assault of the Turks took place in June, 1809; when they attacked the fortification near Kamenitza, which was defended by 3,000 men under Stephen Singelitsch, the Knes of Ressaver, and the friend of Peter. The Knes made an heroic defence: but he was in need of succour; which Miloie, with inconceivable blindness, refused him. At length, when the Turks, marching over the bodies of their slaughtered comrades, had crossed the trenches, scaled the walls, and gained the upper hand in the melée, Stephen despaired of being able to maintain his ground; and, determined not to fall into the hands of the Turks, either dead or alive, he fired the powder-magazine, and blew into the air the entire fort—destroying himself with his friends and enemies! The Turks afterwards erected a tower on the road-side, near the spot, and inserted, amongst the stones of its walls, the skulls of the Servians who thus met their death.

After this the Turks encountered no further resistance. Miloie, who, in his boastful presumption had flattered himself that he should reduce Nisch, and take up his abode there, now saw himself compelled, by the superior force of the enemy, to retire from his fortifications, and to flee to Deligrade, leaving his artillery and baggage behind him. Peter Dobrinjaz was just returning from an expedition, when matters had proceeded thus far; but he felt no desire to fight for Miloie, and, saying to his men—"Save what you can!" he allowed them to disperse.

Kara George received the news of these disasters while besieging the citadel of Novipasar. The danger of his own country prevented his advancing farther into the enemy's territory. In all haste, he ordered the Knes Sima from Bosnia, and also Milenko—who meanwhile had, with Russian aid, been besieging Kladovo—to proceed with their troops to the Morava. Kara George raised the siege in which he was engaged; and abandoned his position at Sjenitza. Then without delay—not even bestowing a thought upon the Voivode whom he had sent to Montenegro—he retraced his steps. He reached the threatened province in time to throw some troops into Kiupria: a place, the possession of which would enable him at all times to retain a footing on the right bank of the Morava. Thence he proceeded to Deligrade. But, though Milenko also arrived there, the result of every

engagement proved unfavourable to the Servians; and the chiefs found themselves under the necessity of returning to Kiupria. Report, however, had represented their loss to have been yet greater than it actually was; and the rumour that Milenko and George had been entirely defeated, and had gone back into the Schumadia, with the remnant of their forces, by some other road, induced the commanders at Kiupria—Raditsch and Jokitsch—prudent and well-tried men—to demolish their citadel.

When Kara George arrived, Raditsch was still engaged in conveying cannon and ammunition across the Morava, or in sinking what could not be carried over; and Jokitsch, in destroying the redoubts. What was his consternation on witnessing the fortress, by which he had hoped to protect the right bank of the Morava, reduced to ruins! In his rage, he fired a pistol at Jokitsch. What had been done, however, could not be undone. He was obliged to avail himself of the darkness of night to pass over to Jagodina.

Veliko, also, was unable to hold his ground at Bania, near Alexinaz. Yet his bravery was undaunted. Upon one occasion, when he espied the banners of some Servian troops coming to his assistance, he had the courage to force his way through the midst of the besieging Turks, in order to concert a joint attack with this reinforcement; and in the same manner he cut his way back through the ranks of the enemy. All, however, was in vain: the force that came to his aid was too weak, and the Servians could not maintain possession of Bania. Veliko, therefore, was content to bring off some of his gallant men, with whom he again forced his way through the Turkish camp.

Upon this, all the country that lies to the right of the Morava, as far as Poscharevaz, fell into the hands of the Turks; slaughter and terror everywhere prevailed; the entire plain was covered with fugitives; and such as could not get into the Scumadia, fled into the Omoljer and Peker Mountains.

Rodofinikin considered himself no longer safe at Belgrade; and, accompanied by Peter Dobrinjaz, he went over the Danube. The Turks were already preparing to advance on the left bank of the Morava; and Guschanz Ali, especially, endeavoured to make good his threat, "that he would one day visit Black George in Topola."

The Servians neglected nothing that might prevent this: Mladen, Knes Sima, and Vuiza, took up their positions opposite Poscharevaz, on the Lower Morava: Kara George fortified Mount Lipar, near Jagodina. Yet it may be doubted whether they would have been able to effect anything, but for the alliance which they had entered into with the Russians; which now proved eminently serviceable.

In August, 1809, the Russian army crossed the Lower Danube; one fortified place after another fell into their hands, and the Turks found themselves under the necessity of calling back part of their forces. The Servians, in consequence, breathed more freely. They not only succeeded in repelling the attacks of Guschanz Ali, but even drove him out of those districts for the preservation of which he had remained behind. At the same time they were sufficiently strong to repulse the Bosnians, who were then attacking Losnitza. The loss of men which the Servians had sustained, was compensated for by the numbers who had risen in their favour in Bosnia, and had accompanied them into Servia, when retreating over the Drina. These people had dwellings allotted to them in Kitog.

Thus were the Servians again delivered from the Turks. They even retained a part of the country which they had taken beyond the ancient boundaries. Generally speaking, however, the position they were in afforded but little security.

On former occasions the Servians had to fight only with the Dahis, and afterwards with such armies as had marched against them by order of the Grand Signior; but they had now, by their attempt to advance into the neighbouring pachalics, involved themselves in a conflict with the established powers of those provinces. The Pachas carried on, as it were, a personal contest with the Servian people.

Amongst the Servians themselves, also, internal union had been impaired in proportion to the deplorable results of their last enterprises.

The rivals of Kara George imputed the failure of those enterprises to the Commander-in-chief; and asserted that his not being favourably inclined towards Russia, was the cause of that power having afforded so little assistance.

Of still greater importance was the fact, that Kara George entertained new fears of the existence of a good understanding between the Russians and the Turks. He, indeed, seriously thought of submitting to Austria; to whom he had accordingly made formal proposals.

It cannot be asserted that those proposals remained altogether unnoticed at Vienna. Austria, having again suffered heavy losses in the year 1809, was forced to form an alliance with Napoleon; and there were statesmen in that country, who, being convinced that, within a short time, a rupture—nay even a war—between Russia and France would ensue, considered beforehand what line of conduct they ought to adopt in such an event. It seemed not impossible, that Austria might procure indemnification for her losses in Gallicia, on the Middle Danube; provided she could effect a restoration of Bessarabia or the Crimea to the Turks. In such a contingency the voluntary submission of Servia would be extremely desirable.

But would the Servians consent to such a course?

This question had been earnestly discussed the year before. Kara George and Mladen, ever apprehensive that their antagonists might be assisted by Russian influence, would have been in favour of this step; but, subsequently, when the nation had formed as it were a military brotherhood with the Russians, and had received a Russian Minister in Servia, such a proceeding did not seem practicable. Now, however, since Rodofinikin had retired, and the people had been obliged to encounter the greatest dangers without obtaining any aid from Russia, the measure became more feasible; and, as before stated, Kara Georga, who, in 1808, had regarded its realisation as impossible, now entertained some hopes of its success.

Austria ought promptly to have evinced an earnest readiness to aid the Servians, and should resolutely have granted them her protection. But this project was only entertained by her statesmen: affairs were far from being so matured as to justify the Imperial Court in taking any decided step, or in venturing to agree to the proposals of Kara George.

Care had already been taken on the part of Russia to suppress all inclination on the part of Servia to an alliance

with any other country. In the proclamation with which the Russian general-in-chief, Kemenskij, opened the campaign of 1810, he styled the Servians, "brethren of the Russians, children of one family and faith;" promising them support; and he also expressly mentioned Kara George as commander-in-chief. Nothing more was required to pacify Kara George, who thus found himself acknowledged as leader of the Servians. Moreover, they who wished to be considered adherents of Russia, could now no longer refuse him their obedience. Besides, whatever were the dissensions amongst themselves, all felt, as the spring advanced, a renewed desire to attack the Turks.

Thus, in 1810, war was recommenced with the aid of the Russians. The immediate object of the Servians was to achieve the conquest of the Kraina, which formed their communication with Russia.

Their best troops, to the number of 4500 foot, and 1500 horse, all picked men, marched into the Kraina; the Servians being desirous to impress a favourable opinion of their troops upon the allies with whom they were to take the field. Peter Dobrinjaz, who had effected so much already, was entrusted with the command of this force; and as soon as the Russians, under Zuccato, had made their appearance, considerable progress was made. Negotin and Bersa Palanka were taken, and Kladovo was besieged.

In the interim, however, the Turks also had completed their preparations. Notwithstanding all the resistance with which they encountered the Russians lower down on the Danube, they found means to carry the war into the Servian frontiers, which they attacked on two points.

Churschid, the new Pacha of Nisch, advanced towards the Morava with an army of about 30,000 men; and as he pursued a different method from that of his predecesssors, he was doubly dangerous. Before the entrenchment near Deligrade, which had cost the Turks so much trouble on former occasions, he made only a short stay; leaving it blockaded by a division of his troops. On the other hand, he took Kruschevaz, and a fortress near Jassica, and began to lay waste the country all around. This was unquestionably the most effectual hostility that he could practise. The Servians who belonged to the districts which he was devastating,

became impatient, and refused to defend the fortresses, which were no longer of use. They thought only of their wives and children, and returned to their homes. The men of Kruschevaz and Levatsch had dispersed; Kragujevaz was threatened, and the inhabitants of this district, who were defending Deligrade, also thought of returning to their homes. Kara George now began to fear that affairs might turn out as unfavourably as they had done the year before. There is a letter extant, in which he desires Peter Dobrinjaz to join him; telling him either to come with all his troops, or to induce the Russians to send a part of their forces. "Do either one or the other," said he, "and without delay. Of what use would it be to take Kladovo, if we cannot defend our own country? Do not wait for another letter, but set out to my assistance immediately; and hasten forward, day and night: our very existence is at stake."

On the receipt of this urgent missive, Zuccato lost no time in despatching 3000 Russians, under the command of Colonel O'Rourke, to the assistance of the distressed Servians; Veliko acting as their guide. In the mountains near Jassica, they met the Servians: who now took courage and again descended into the plain of Warwarin.

Churschid beheld this with delight. "You have always complained," said he to his Turks, "that you can never meet the Servians in the plains. Look! yonder is a plain, and there are the Servians! Let us see, then, whether you are worthy to eat the bread of the Sultan." He then attacked the Russians and Servians. The Russian square, however, appeared immoveable. It afforded to the Servians the protection they had formerly derived from their mountains, and under cover of it they made the most successful onsets, capturing seven standards. In the evening, Churschid found himself obliged to throw up an entrenchment.

In the meanwhile the extent of the danger had been fully developed: the Bosnian army, 40,000 strong, had crossed the Drina. After the Turks had for a time ravaged the country, they threw themselves upon Losnitza; which, for twelve days, they bombarded with all their force. And it was scarcely possible that Antonie Bogitschevitsch, Voivode of the town, valiant as he was, could hold out much longer.

Kara George acknowledged, that he had never been so hardly beset, as by these simultaneous attacks. He demanded further help from Peter, who was pursuing his enterprise in the Kraina: writing to him, "that every moment of time gained on the march would be of importance on the Drina."

But fortune had decreed that Churschid Pacha, weary of the resistance which he encountered at every new attempt, should return to his own territory. This may have been partly owing to the fact that the Russians, after many fruitless attempts, had at last taken Ruschtschuk, about the end of September, 1810; and thus might easily become dangerous to a Pacha of Nisch, in another direction.

The Servians were, therefore, left at liberty to attack Bosnia.

Without delay, Kara George set out to relieve Losnitza, taking with him all the troops that could be spared in those parts of the country; the people of Kragujevaz, Smederevo, Grozka, and Belgrade, and some Cossacks. Luka Lasarevitsch also came from Schabaz, and Jacob Nenadovitsch from Valjevo. In the night of the 5th of October they all assembled within half an hour's march of the Bosnian camp, and at once threw up an entrenchment. The Turks were sufficiently bold to be the first to commence the fight in the morning; but they were speedily driven from their positions before the town into their larger fortifications on the Drina. On the same evening, the Servians fortified their position close to the enemy; and the next day a decisive battle was fought. They first attacked each other with cannon and musketry; afterwards they fought hand to hand. "Thus," says Kara George, "we closed, and intermingled with one another; for two hours we fought with our sabres. We have killed many Turks, and cut off many Turkish heads. Three times as many of their troops have fallen as of ours: a fiercer battle was never fought: the field remained in our possession."

The Turks indeed had suffered so severely, that they despaired of being able to effect anything further that year, and returned over the Drina. Kara George had also crossed the river, and hastened after them. On the day following, however, deputies were despatched by the Pacha, proposing

that the Drina should not be passed by either party, which was mutually agreed upon.

When the Servians now looked around, they congratulated themselves on having made a successful campaign. O'Rourke, when marching to join them, had taken Bania, which, since the preceding year, had been in the hands of the Turks. On his way back he captured Gurgussevaz, and Kladovo had also surrendered. All these places the Russians gave over to Servian garrisons.

It is true that the bold schemes which had been proposed at first—the conquest of Bosnia, and the re-establishment, in conjunction with the Montenegrins, of the old Servian nationality—were far from being accomplished. Servia had herself been in the greatest danger. For two successive years she had been obliged to fight for her existence, but was now, in consequence, far stronger than before. She was not again limited to the Pachalic of Belgrade; on the contrary, she had acquired districts from all the Pachalics and Sandschaks around her: from Viddin, the Kraina, Kliutsch, and Zrnareka; from Nisch, the towns and territory of Alexinaz and Bania; from Leskovaz, Parakyn, and Kruschevaz; from Novipasar—the long-celebrated cloister of Studenitza, from which a Nahia was once more named; from Svornik, in Bosnia—at least the districts on this side of the Drina: Jadar and Radjevina. A country by no means unimportant, fertile, and improvable by culture, had thus been wrested from the dominion of Islamism, and restored to the natives of the soil.

CHAPTER XIII.

CIVIL DISSENSIONS.—MONARCHICAL POWER.

Dissensions in the Camp of Losnitza.—Disputes at the Skupschtina in 1810.—Further Aid is solicited from Russia.—Peter Dobrinjaz excites the Russians against Kara George, and attempts to restrict his Power. Kara George detects the Conspiracy against him.—He carries important Resolutions in the Senate, and effects Great Changes.—Arrival of a Russian Regiment at Belgrade.—Veliko is gained over to the Party of Kara George.—Milenko, Peter Dobrinjaz, Schivkovitsch.—Milenko and Dobrinjaz are removed from their Military Commands, and subsequently exiled to Russia.—Milosch and Mladen.—The Power of the Gospodars is destroyed.—Kara George becomes Supreme Head of the State.

We must once more call attention to the campaign of 1809, which, as we have seen, roused the Gospodars to fresh hostility against the Commander-in-chief; whom they charged with not entertaining sentiments sufficiently favourable towards the Russians.

Even in the camp of Losnitza the quarrel broke out, as soon as the Turks had retreated. Jacob Nenadovitsch inquired—"Who is henceforth to defend these boundaries?"—"The very same person," replied Kara George, "who has defended them hitherto." "On no account," said Jacob—for this had been his office. "Rather let the duty be undertaken by those who refuse foreign assistance, and who would bring our enemies upon us." Jacob called his troops together, and presenting his nephew the Prota to them, exclaimed—"Behold! I sent this man, and he has found for you a gracious Emperor. But Mladen and Miloje reject the Protector, and wish to be kings and emperors themselves."*

* Cyprien Robert calls the Camp of Losnitza a "*diète armée.*" The words which, according to the first edition of our work have been correctly quoted by Boué, "il vous a trouvé un gracieux Empereur," he alters into: "*que le Tzar avait daigné d'accepter la couronne de Serbie.*" The words of George to the Skupschtina, which Boué transcribes thus, were—"*si Mladen a mal fait, prends sa place, et fais*

At the Skupschtina held about the beginning of 1810, Jacob Nenadovitsch appeared, accompanied by a greater number of Momkes and followers than any other chief: amounting to nearly six hundred men, who shouted in the streets, "We will have the Emperor!" At the meetings, Jacob spoke violently against Mladen. Kara George said, "If Mladen has acted wrongly, do you in future take his place and act better. The rest of you wish to have the Russian Emperor: well, so do I!"

So much influence did Nenadovitsch gain by this, that Mladen and Miloie, who were considered more directly in fault than the Commander-in-chief, were obliged to give way; whilst Nenadovitsch himself, on the other hand, was made President of the Senate. Under the pretext that so many officials could not be paid, he removed such of the Sowietniks as did not please him; and it appeared as though he would henceforth share the power with Kara George. Through his influence an embassy was despatched to the Russian camp to solicit assistance.

To the rest of the commanders, however, this change of affairs was unsatisfactory. Milenko was appointed a member of the Embassy; but when he had reached Poretsch, instead of proceeding himself, he thought it sufficient to send his secretary. He at once renounced all obedience to the Commander-in-chief, and excited his district to insurrection.

On the other hand, another Gospodar, Peter Dobrinjaz, had, of his own authority, constituted himself an ambassador. Accompanied by Rodofinikin, he went into the Russian camp, and, under the pretext of being commissioned by his nation, solicited the return of Rodofinikin with some auxiliary troops. At the same time that he excited the Russians against Kara George, he intimated to the Servians, that they could not receive any assistance, until they should have changed their Commander-in-chief and their whole Senate. Nor did he relinquish his scheme even when the authorised Embassy arrived. He contrived to persuade its chief, Milan of Rudnik, that Kara George aimed at unlimited power; and obtained his assent to a forged instrument of plenary

mieux;"—but whilst Boué states: "*vous voulez l'empereur, moi aussi.*" —Mr. Cyprien makes him say:—"*vous autres, vous voulez l'Empereur Russe; essayons de l'Empereur Russe.*"

force which he and his adherents had drawn up in their own favour. It is surprising that men in such a station should have acted thus.

Notwithstanding, as we already know, all their projects proved abortive. Kara George found an opportunity, through one of his friends, the Archimandrite Phillipovitsch, to furnish Kamenskij with more correct information. The consequence was, that Kamenskij issued the proclamation which has been before mentioned; and this was the main cause that, in the year 1810, all parties united in making such great exertions in the field.

Yet this did not prevent the Gospodars from keeping up their dissensions at home; even during the campaign. Peter, Milenko, and Milan, met at the head-quarters of Zuccato. Jacob Nenadovitsch and his adherents assembled at the camp near Losnitza; where they found favourable opportunities for consultation and resolving upon new measures. Kara George was too powerful, and had been far too successful in the field, for them to be able to accomplish their object by removing him at once. But they thought they could restrict his power, and bring affairs to such a state, that they might at some future time be able to depose him. If a Russian regiment, for which Mladen was commissioned to apply, should but arrive, they hoped to find themselves sufficiently powerful to carry out their bold design. The mere presence of the Russian troops would turn the scale in their favour; and they hoped to be further assisted by their Momkes—by their own influence and their connexions in Belgrade—and even by an insurrection of the people, who were dissatisfied with Mladen. The next Skupschtina could not fail to prove of the utmost importance.

The contention between the Gospodars and the Commander-in-chief was not altogether groundless and uncalled for: its origin lay deep in the nature of circumstances.

It would be wrong to regard the Gospodars as oppressors of the people, and Kara George as their defender: even according to notions entertained in the West, whence they are derived; and which are altogether inapplicable to the East.

It would be much easier to obtain a correct idea of the character of the contest, by considering what an entirely

different course the affairs of Greece, at a later period, must necessarily have taken, had any of the native chiefs succeeded in acquiring a superiority like that of Kara George. The unity of the nation, and the necessity for carrying on war, demanded also a union of authority.

It is not contended that the welfare of the country depended on the submission of the Gospodars. On the contrary, they had an unquestionable right to a certain degree of independence; since they had exerted themselves to the utmost in their respective districts, and possessed there a personal and local body of adherents. It would have been far better had parties come to some amicable understanding. However, as that could not be effected, and as fresh disputes originated every day, the only alternative was to let a trial of strength between the opposing parties decide which should be dominant.

Kara George had the advantage of possessing timely information respecting the schemes of his adversaries. One day he happened to visit Luka Lasarevitsch, who was still lying in his hut, suffering from a wound he had received in that sharp skirmish which had taken place in front of the Turkish entrenchments. Half in jest, Kara George said:—"May such be the reward of those who do not act rightly!" Luka—who was also engaged in the conspiracy—noted these words; and, being now fully convinced that it had been discovered, he confessed all he knew: induced, either by his old attachment to his Commander, or by fear of disgrace should the project miscarry—for he was very ambitious. Shortly afterwards, Milan's secretary, Lasar Voinovitsch, came into the camp. Kara George omitted nothing that might win him over to his side; and from him he obtained still more circumstantial and certain information.

Kara George now resolved, not only to defend his own power, but at the same time to crush that of his adversaries: and for this they themselves furnished him with the best opportunity. The Gospodars did not attend the Skupschtina at the time appointed (New Year's Day, 1811): Milenko and Peter Dobrinjaz wished to await the arrival of the Russian regiment, and Jacob Nenadovitsch was unwilling to appear without his two allies; thus the Commander-in-chief had time to obtain a preponderating influence over the

Voivodes of minor importance: who were almost the only members present, His object was the more easily effected, as he well understood how to connect his own interest with theirs.

He thus succeeded in passing, in this Diet, two resolutions which changed the whole condition of the country. The first was, that the Voivodes should no longer be dependent on the superior Gospodars, but directly on the Commander-in-chief and the Senate. Almost a new distribution was made of the country: the districts which Milenko had hitherto governed by means of Buljukbasches, were divided amongst eight Voivodes. Milosch, who in the name of Milan held two districts—those of Rudnik and Poschega—lost the whole of one and two-thirds of the other; and Voivodes like Antonie Bogitschevitsch, Milosch Potzeraz, and Stojan Tschupitsch, who had hitherto been dependent on Jacob or on Luka, now found themselves independent. It may easily be believed that this arrangement would be gratifying to all the chiefs of subordinate rank; and that they, in return, would promote the authority of the Commander-in-chief by whom they had been so much favoured.

Immediately connected with this, was the second resolution; which involved a complete reformation of the Senate. Its judicial and administrative functions were separated. For the former, a Supreme Court of Justice was instituted, to be composed of the less important Sowietniks; the latter, on the contrary, were to be entrusted to the most influential men, in the form of a Ministry. They were to be designated Administrators—*Popetschiteli:* the first, of War; the second, of Justice; the third, of Foreign Affairs; and so on for Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Home Department, and Finance. The intention was that, besides Mladen, Knes Sima Markovitsch, and Dosithei Obradovitsch, who were all declared adherents of Kara George, Jacob Nenadovitsch, Milenko, and Peter Dobrinjaz, should also be employed in these Ministerial duties. By the *first* resolution, the greater part of the power which the Gospodars had hitherto held was taken from them: they were disengaged, as it were, from their respective districts. By the *second*, an office was found for them beyond the influence of their former relations: an office which, in fact, left them little independent power; as the chief

appointment—the Ministry of War—was placed in the hands of Mladen. Had they assented to this, Kara George would have been completely successful. Precautionary measures, however, had been taken, in the event of their non-compliance: a law had been passed in the Diet, that resistance to these resolutions should be punished by exile.

All this having been concluded, the Commander-in-chief made the Voivodes swear that they would obey him; and only him. At his command they then separated, and each at once repaired to his own district.

Such was the state of affairs, when Milenko and Peter, accompanied by the Russian regiment, at length arrived at Belgrade. Unquestionably they were still in a position to offer resistance; and had they but continued united, their combined authority might yet have been of great weight. On their side was the Heyduc Veliko, to whom all rule was irksome; and who, since the preceding year, had held himself in a position of obstinate isolation. So many complaints of acts of violence and manifold crimes committed by him, had been brought before the Diet of that year, that it was intended to imprison him in some fortress. He assembled his Momkes, and said: "When I came here, I thought I should be asked how many wounds I had received? how many brave companions I had lost? how many horses had been killed under me? But they ask—how many girls I have kissed! Come! let us depart." He now appeared by the side of the other Gospodars at Belgrade, with seventy resolute companions—Bekjares, so far as they were paid by him; Momkes, so far as they were bound to him by personal obligations—who were ready for any enterprise. The Gospodars had also a strong faction in the town; and were altogether in a position to undertake something serious. But already was their unity destroyed and their power lessened by several losses. Milan, on whom they could have reckoned unconditionally, had fallen ill at Bucharest, not long after Lasar Voinovitsch had returned to him, and he died on the last day of the year 1810. It was asserted by some that he had been removed by poison. But a circumstance to them of greater importance, was that Jacob Nenadovitsch had now other views; he determined to fill his place in the Senate. Having married his son Efrem to the

daughter of Mladen, and united himself entirely with the party of Kara George ; instead of coming with a numerous troop, he appeared at Belgrade in his sledge, accompanied only by two Momkes. Thus Peter and Milenko alone remained with Veliko.

The opposite party also contrived to separate Veliko from his faction. Kara George not only made him large presents of money, but restored to him his position as Voivode of Bania, which he had nearly forfeited by his departure the year before : he often called him "Son ;" saying, "Alexa, his first-born son, was not dearer to him," and thus contrived to win him over entirely to his interests. But, that Veliko might not waver between his old and new engagements, care was taken to remove him to some distance. A letter was fabricated, in which it was stated that the Turks had made an irruption into the country from Nisch, and had already advanced as far as Bania ; and the letter was delivered by a Tartar, streaming with perspiration. Nothing further was required to stimulate the Heyduc : to save his Voivodeship, he set out with all his Bekjares without a moment's delay.

Milenko and Peter had no longer the courage to attempt anything. Stephen Schivkovitsch, the richest man in Belgrade, and an old enemy of Mladen's, pressed the two chiefs once more to try their fortune : he would have had them commence immediately by an assault upon Mladen's house. Peter and Milenko answered,—"We are short of men." "Are we not three of us," replied Schivkovitsch ; "and have we not our Momkes ? Upon the first shot the inhabitants of the town will rise : for they hate Mladen ; and the country people, who are greedy after booty, will rush in to our support." But the chiefs further objected that "they were without ammunition even to begin with ;" whereupon Schivkovitsch directly procured several sacksful, which he brought to the inn. But as has already been stated, both Milenko and Peter were so discouraged by their previous ill-success, that, whilst Schivkovitsch was making these proposals, they remained sitting by the fireside, without answering, and merely stirring the coals.

To be fully assured how matters stood, Kara George had now only to ascertain what he was to expect from the Russian

regiment, (the regiment Neuschlot,) and how its colonel, Balla, was disposed towards him. If he had, at any time, shown himself disaffected towards the Russians, it was because he had suffered himself to be persuaded—and indeed by the assertions of his adversaries themselves—that his enemies and rivals had found in them a help and support. At length he determined to learn the real state of affairs. One day when he, Peter Dobrinjaz, and Milenko, together with the colonel, had been dining at Mladen's, and afterwards, to honour the foreigner, had accompanied him towards his home, Kara George—perhaps designedly—just as they arrived at the Colonel's abode, entered into a violent dispute with Milenko. He had ordered his Momkes to take Milenko's sword from him, when Balla, who lived in the same house, pleaded for him. This was the critical moment which Kara George had expected. He took off his cap and implored Balla, "by the bread of his Emperor," to tell him whether he had come to support Milenko's faction. Balla replied, that he had come to render assistance to the nation under the command of Kara George. "Then," cried the latter, "let me take and kiss thy hand in lieu of that of the Emperor." He required no further assurance: he no longer thought of his dispute with Milenko, but was satisfied with knowing himself secure on this side also.

The next day, however, he took measures for terminating the whole affair. He sent to Milenko and Peter the appointments which removed them from their supreme command to their seats in the Senate. Should they accept them? It was only too evident, since Jacob had gone over to their opponent, that, in the Senate, where they would find themselves in a minority, they would possess but little influence. Should they refuse? If they did, exile awaited them. Nevertheless, they determined to refuse, hoping that their request to live as private individuals in their respective districts might be granted. As their power, however, depended less on their legal rights than on their personal influence, their request was refused. On the following day, the decrees by which they were exiled were posted up at all the corners of the streets. In these they were reproached with all their misdeeds, real or pretended; Peter Dobrinjaz, with his flight from Deligrade; his departure with Rodofinikin; his pre-

sumption in wishing to pass as Ambassador of the nation without having been appointed; and also the arrears in his account of the tolls he had received: Milenko, with his rebellion at Poretsch; his illegal appropriation of Russian subsidies to pay his own Bekjares; and similar arbitrary acts. Then they were told:—"Here is Austria; there is Turkey; there are Wallachia and Russia: choose to which of them you prefer to go." They chose Russia. Kara George accordingly had them conducted, under an escort of Cossacks and Servians, through the district of Poscharevaz to the Danube: having previously occupied Poretsch and Kladavo with troops upon whom he could depend.

Shortly after their departure, a letter arrived at Belgrade from Milosch, promising his adherence to the two Gospodars. Having succeeded to Milan's position, he pursued a similar policy; knowing that his power especially would be curtailed by the new regulations. Dobrinjaz and Milenko had already passed the Danube, when a movenent in their favour was manifested in their districts. Kara George, who had so fully succeeded in the main point, employed on this occasion, likewise, the means best suited for his object. It was probable that the common troops might refuse to fight against their equals and friends. Instead of them, he, therefore, assembled only Bekjares and the Voivodes with their Momkes; and by their means he, without difficulty, crushed the rebellion in its commencement.

When Milosch had arrived with the other Voivodes, Kara George had no difficulty in calling him to account for his letter; which had fallen into the hands of Mladen. Milosch was treated with great indulgence, and every opportunity was afforded him to deny the authorship of the letter: he, however, acknowledged it. It was suggested that probably his confidant Dmitri had led him to write it; but Milosch avowed that it was entirely his own act. Notwithstanding this, he was allowed to depart unpunished: probably because he was not yet possessed of sufficient power to be an object of apprehension. His promise of implicit obedience, in future, to the Commander-in-Chief and the Senate, was deemed sufficient.

Leonti, who was not yet to be trusted, was removed to

Kragujevaz. With the new Russian Plenipotentiary Nedoba the government was on very good terms.

Thus was destroyed the power of the great Gospodars ; at one time so firmly rooted amongst the people. Kara George remained Lord and Master of the Servian country. The Voivodes,—who continued to rule it, at times, with a power which was not always well regulated,—were, almost without exception, appointed by, or dependent upon him ; and not one of them was sufficiently independent to resist him. The Senate, in which the places of Peter and Milenko were filled by men devoted to Kara George, conducted the administration according to the views of the Commander-in-Chief, and laid no claim to independence. A public authority was thus constituted ; but it was concentrated entirely in the hands of Kara George : he was the Monarch of this little state. The most powerful men in the country were powerful only from having allied themselves closely with him.

CHAPTER XIV.

PEACE OF BUCHAREST.

The Servians desire to obtain the Guarantee of a Foreign Power for the Security of their Rights.—Campaign of 1811.—The Grand Vizier offers to make Peace.—War between Russia and France in 1812.—Servia expressly noticed in the Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey.—Stipulations in her Favour.—Concentration of the Russian Force in Volhynia.—Disastrous Consequences to Servia.—Execution of Demetrius Morusi.—The Turks evade complying with the Terms of the Treaty.—Conference at Nisch in January, 1813.—Demands of the Turks.—Recommencement of Negotiations in May, 1813.—Renewed Contentions and Disputes.—The Turks recommence the War against the Servians.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that had been achieved, the Servians were yet destitute of that one foundation of all national existence in modern Europe,—the acknowledgment of their being a distinct political state.

The mere declaration of the Grand Signior, even if this could be obtained, would be insufficient for the establishment of the Servians as an independent principality. Owing to the fluctuating state of the government of the Ottoman Empire, a declaration of that nature might at any moment be retracted. Nor could a Prince of Servia expect any higher consideration than the Pachas around him. Such was the character of the Turkish government, that it could not be trusted without the guarantee of some foreign power.

But what power would venture to take this responsibility upon itself? Had it been attainable, the united consent of all Europe would have been most desirable. But, if, even in peaceful times, this consent is so difficult to be obtained, as to be considered an impossibility, was it to be thought of in those days of universal excitement and commotion? Nor was much to be expected from any individual power. How could Austria—changing from one side to another, and having incessantly to struggle for her own existence—be expected to give umbrage to the only neighbour at peace with her—the Turkish Sultan—by a guarantee that would be offensive to him?

Napoleon was at one time proposed. In the year 1811 the Turks did not appear disinclined to acknowledge the young Servian State: under certain restrictions. Churschid Pacha had offered to Kara George a position similar to that of the Gospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; and it is believed that he would have had no objection to Napoleon's guarantee: as, at that time, the French Emperor was understood to be no longer the friend of Russia. Whether any such proposals were made to him, is uncertain: if they were, they led to no results. Indeed, how could Servia have relied on the support of a power, whose natural interest it was, to render Turkey strong in opposition to Russia: for that such was the case now again became apparent, though it had been lost sight of for a time.

No other power then remained but Russia; with whom the Servians had been allied from the very commencement, but with whom the Grand Signior was still at open war.

When Churschid Pacha first made the proposal in question, his object was a military one: he made it a condition that the Bosnians should be allowed free passage through

Servia. Should this be conceded, Servia being in the enjoyment of peace and the Bosnian army able, without taking a very circuitous route, to reach the Middle Danube, the Turks might hope to wrest the two principalities from the Russians; who had, moreover, at that very time, been under the necessity of withdrawing a part of their army towards the frontiers of Poland.

But would Kara George listen to proposals of this nature? The passage of the Bosnians through Servia he could never permit. The hatred of the Bosnian Mahometans towards the Servian Christians, which had been aroused by their long and bloody wars, would have broken forth on their first coming into contact, and would have led to open hostilities. No promises of the Grand Signior, or of the Pacha, could make Kara George feel secure that this would not happen.

Nor could he venture to detach himself from the Russians. Their campaign of 1811, though it had commenced unfavourably, speedily led to greater advantages than had resulted from any by which it had been preceded. The Grand Vizier followed the Russian army on the left bank of the Danube; but with so little caution, that the Russians succeeded in surprising and capturing the entrenched Turkish camp; which he had left behind him, on the right bank, in order to maintain the communication with the interior of the empire. The Grand Vizier consequently found himself in a position of the greatest danger. Having himself escaped with difficulty, he made serious proposals for peace; only for the sake of saving the Moslems whom he had been obliged to leave in his rear.

This event could not but be advantageous to the Servians. Kara George had forwarded the proposals made to him by Churschid, to the Russian head-quarters. After the receipt of an answer from the Russians, he informed the Ottomans that he could not entertain the idea of negotiating upon his own responsibility; but that he was willing to submit to whatever might be agreed upon between the two emperors at Constantinople and St. Petersburg.

He had, no doubt, received the assurance that, in any peace which might be concluded, the affairs of Servia should not be neglected. Nothing could be more advantageous to the country than that its relations should be established in a

treaty of peace between the two powers. This was the very guarantee the state required. The Servian nation thus connected itself most intimately with Russia; and must, consequently, participate in the perils and misfortunes, as well as in the success and prosperity, of that empire.

Russia was now about to enter upon a war more perilous than any in which she had ever been engaged. The good understanding which had existed between that country and France, since the treaty arranged at Tilsit, and confirmed at Erfurt, had gradually diminished, since 1810; and it became apparent to all Europe, that open war must ensue between the two empires. Soon afterwards an army, such as Europe had never yet seen, was set in motion against Russia; under a general who must ever maintain his rank as one of the greatest military commanders of all ages. A fierce struggle was impending over Russia: not merely for a trivial loss or gain; but such a decisive conflict as other nations had already sustained; involving her political existence—nay, indeed, the very life of the nation.

Napoleon's object—in which he had succeeded with the German powers—was now to prevail upon the Ottomans to involve themselves with him in this contest; and, as the Turks were already at war with Russia, his project seemed easy of accomplishment. In his treaty with Austria, Napoleon again acknowledged the integrity of the Ottoman empire; and a secret article of that treaty stipulated that Turkey should be invited to join in the alliance against Russia. Napoleon flattered himself that, by promising to the Ottomans the re-conquest of the Crimea, he should induce them to take part in the war, and aid him with all their resources: so that in a short time 100,000 Turks would overrun the interior of Russia. On the part of the French, it has always been asserted that Napoleon had too long delayed to make decisive proposals of this nature at Constantinople. His Minister of Foreign Affairs asserted, in February, 1812, that the French ambassador there was doing nothing against the interest of Russia; and an historian, who has seen many secret documents, declares that this was only too true, and that the ambassador was at that time ordered to maintain a strict reserve on the subject.*

* Bignon, Histoire de France après la paix de Tilsit, iv. 390. "Na-

Perhaps it might be that Napoleon considered his proposals irresistible, at whatever time he might choose to make them; on account of the great opportunity which they afforded the Turks for re-establishing their power. At the moment when he opened the campaign of 1812 in earnest, he was by no means deficient in pressing invitations or in brilliant promises.

This confidence, however, deceived him. That the Turks under these circumstances showed themselves inclined for peace, need not be ascribed to the influence of English gold, or to the intrigues of the two Morusi: though one of them is said to have devoted his energies to bring about a peace in the capital; and the other, Demetrius, to have served the Reis Effendi as Dragoman. They had other and more cogent reasons.

Napoleon had, at one time, not only permitted the seizure of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Russians, but had, quite unnecessarily, at the opening of the session of the Legislative Assembly, expressed his sanction of that measure; consequently, the people of Russia considered these provinces as already incorporated in the Empire. In a war of six years' duration, the Turks had made fruitless efforts to regain this territory; which the Emperor Alexander now offered to restore them: with the exception of the districts on the further side of the Pruth. Was it politic for the Turks to refuse this offer? Could they leave the restoration of possessions so considerable, dependent on the chances of war? Even should the war terminate favourably for them, it was not improbable that, in a subsequent agreement, they might fare as at Tilsit and Erfurt.* Was not Kutusov—who was obliged, at least on one point, to overstep his instructions—fearful of incurring the displeasure of his master? In the letter† which he wrote to the Emperor Alexander, on the 4th

poléon n'a, en effet, auprès du Grand Seigneur qu'un simple chargé d'affaires, auquel une grande réserve est prescrite."

* Mémoires de Duc du Rovigo, v. 290. "Ils se rappelèrent qu'à Tilsit on les avait abandonnés après qu'ils ne s'étaient mis en campagne que pour nous; ils nous rendirent la pareille."

† An extract from it is found in Michailewski Danilewski, Der Vaterändische Krieg, i. p. 74.—From this it follows, as a matter of course, that the narratives of the pretended *Homme d'Etat* (vol. xi. p. 317) fall to the ground. The English Government had, long before, taken the leading points of the Peace into consideration. In a letter of the 30th

of May—the day of settling the Preliminary Treaty—he affects not to consider the advantages which he had actually obtained as sufficient to excuse him for not having secured others of more importance.

Suffice it to say, that, whilst Napoleon still counted on the participation of the Turks in his enterprise, they had concluded a peace with his enemy.

In this treaty Servia was especially noticed; but the Servians were still mentioned as a subject nation, tributary to the Grand Signior. The concessions in their favour were spoken of as acts of the outpouring of his mercy and generosity. The word "guarantee" did not occur throughout. But be this as it may, the mere fact, that, in a treaty with Russia, rights were granted to the nation, was a point of infinite importance: a solemn agreement had been entered into; and Russia was entitled to demand its due execution.

It is true that this agreement did not in itself embrace all the wishes and demands of the Servians; but it granted them rights which were by no means unimportant.

The Porte had always most strenuously objected to the fortresses of the country being garrisoned by Servians; and, now that the Porte was placed in a different position by Napoleon's hostility to Russia, this objection was not to be overcome. Accordingly the treaty secured to the Turks the right of occupying the Servian fortresses with their own garrisons.

On the other hand, a complete amnesty was granted to the Servians, and a general improvement of their condition—according to the model of some of the islands of the Archipelago—was accorded to them as a matter of right: the details of this improvement being particularly specified. The regulation of the domestic affairs of the nation was to be left to the Servians themselves; and only moderate imposts were laid on them, which they were to pay directly to the Porte: all needful regulations being made with the

January, 1808, Sir Robert Adair says:—"It is hoped that this Peace may be brought about by prevailing on the Emperor to give up his pretensions to Wallachia and Moldavia, and to be content with some augmentation to the security of his frontier on that side."

approbation of the Servian people, and not arbitrarily enacted by the Porte.*

The treaty was brief; but it was of the utmost importance; by it complete internal independence appeared to be secured to the Servians.

Nothing further was requisite, but that its terms should be carried out agreeably to the spirit in which they had been conceded.

Everything appeared to promise this fulfilment; as just then the project was formed for attacking the French in Dalmatia; by a fleet which was to sail from the Black Sea, and by a land force which was to proceed through Servia and Roumelia. An army of more than 20,000 men, with artillery, light cavalry, and some Cossacks, was destined for this purpose. On the 27th of June, the first division commenced its march under the command of Colonel O'Rourke. Preparations were made for establishing magazines on the Drina; and commissariat contractors were already appointed, as well as guides, intimately acquainted with the country, for conducting the march of the army through Bosnia.

This project, however, was soon abandoned: England, it is believed, being opposed to the maritime expedition. It was represented to the Emperor Alexander, that the army of the Danube might be rendered far more serviceable to him, were it to form a junction with another force and be employed in the defence of the country, than it could be in hazarding an enterprise so uncertain in its result.†

* The treaty proceeds thus:—"It has been deemed just, in consideration of the share borne by the Servians in this war, to come to a solemn agreement respecting their security. Their peace must not in any way be disturbed. The Sublime Porte will grant the Servians, on their petition, the same privileges which her subjects in the Islands of the Archipelago, and in other parts, enjoy; and will moreover confer upon them a mark of her generosity, by leaving the administration of their internal affairs to themselves—by imposing upon them moderate taxes, and receiving them only direct from them—and by making the regulation requisite to this end in an understanding with the Servian nation themselves."—(Art. 8.) Chios had only a Cadi and a Musellim, who, however, were dependent on the native primate; and the other islands might, so far as the internal administration was concerned, be considered as republics.

† According to Valentini, Lehre vom Krieg, vol. iii. Türkenkrieg,

Accordingly, on the 15th of July, Alexander issued the order from Smolensk, for this army to unite itself with the third Western army in Volhynia; to oppose the farther advance of the Austrians and the Saxons under the command of a French General. It cannot be doubted that Russia was right in concentrating all her forces, for a struggle on which her very existence depended. The troops which left the Danube took part, at a later period, in the campaign on the Beresina.

This was a heavy disaster for Servia. The Russian regiment, which up to this time had been quartered in Belgrade, now left the country; and it may be readily believed that the Servians regretted its departure. The Turks were now no longer restrained, by any consideration of a threatening military power in the neighbourhood, from giving free course to their natural wish to re-establish everything on its old footing.

Their whole policy took a different direction. After the arrival of Andreossy, the French ambassador at Constantinople, the Divan discussed the very points which, in the treaty, had excited the astonishment of all Europe. The Turks lost sight of what they had gained, and remembered only that, notwithstanding the favourable circumstances which had occurred, a part of their ancient territory had been surrendered.

Demetrius Morusi forfeited his life, for the share he had had in the treaty.* His execution took place at the very moment when the Servian deputies entered the Turkish camp, to arrange in detail the stipulations which, in the treaty, had been agreed upon only in general terms. They had especially reckoned on the support of this very Morusi; and, as may be supposed, they experienced the disadvantage of this change in the aspect of affairs.

It was especially detrimental to the Servian cause, that the terms of this Treaty of Peace were better suited to the regular administration of a European State, than to the peculiar relations of the Ottoman Empire.

p. 157, it was a memorial of General Langeron that decided the Emperor.

* See Walsh's Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England, p. 277.

The stipulation that the Turks should garrison the fortresses, and leave the Servians their freedom and self-government in the villages, though it might appear practicable according to generally received notions, presented serious difficulties in being carried into effect. In former times, the commanders of the fortresses had been also masters of the country. The Spahis, also, were yet living, who had always considered themselves proprietors of the villages. Were they to remain excluded, or were they to return? And, if they came back, and should endeavour to assume their former position, who was then to protect the Servians? Could they even maintain the right of bearing their arms?—those arms which they had so gloriously wielded!

It must not be left unnoticed, that, though the peace protected the Servian nation, those articles upon which chiefly depended the general execution of the treaty, had not been specifically defined.

When the Servian government gave its deputies their instructions, it may readily be imagined that they adopted that interpretation of the treaty which was most in their own favour.

The Servians professed themselves ready to pay tribute to the Porte—to receive a Pacha, with a certain number of men, in Belgrade—and, in time of war, to admit Turkish garrisons into the other fortresses; but under ordinary circumstances, they claimed the right of having in them garrisons of their own. The internal administration of the country was to remain wholly independent of the Turks. But these demands were now no longer listened to at Constantinople. The deputies were referred to the new Grand Vizier, Churschid Pacha; who, two years before, had proved so dangerous to the Servians in their own country, and who had been raised to the highest dignity expressly in consideration of the service he had rendered in checking their progress. At Nisch, on their way to Constantinople, he had received them favourably; but, on their return, his conduct was very different: he refused to give them any satisfactory answer.

The Servian delegates returned home at Christmas, 1812, without having effected any of the objects of their mission. All negotiation was postponed, to a conference appointed to take place at Nisch, in 1813.

There, at length, the Commissioner from the Porte, Tschelebi Effendi, set forth the Turkish interpretation of the treaty.

He demanded the surrender not only of all the fortresses, but also of all their arms and ammunition. The Turks who had been banished were to return into the towns and Palanks. Nothing else, it was said, could be meant by the Peace of Bucharest. It now remained for Kara George to verify his words, and to submit to what had been agreed upon by the two Emperors; and any one dissatisfied with this arrangement was at liberty to emigrate.

But if the Servians were to deliver up their arms, and the Turks were to resume their possessions, a still further re-establishment of the former state of things was to be expected. To these demands, therefore, the deputies could not, and would not agree. Consequently, towards the spring, the Turkish troops assembled close to the Servian frontiers. They had also other business in that neighbourhood; to act against Mollah Pacha, the successor of Passvan Oglu, at Viddin; whom, as one who had raised himself to independent power, the Sultan was no longer disposed to tolerate.

In order to save himself, Mollah Pacha had, at one time, actually offered to surrender his citadel to the Servians; but when it came to the point, he could not, as a "good Turk," make up his mind to take a step so decisive in favour of Christians. Nor, perhaps, would the offer have been accepted; as the Servians had received express instructions from St. Petersburg to remain quiet, and by no means to provoke the Turks, who would not then venture to violate the existing treaty. At the same time, Mollah Pacha, pressed by his opponents in the town itself, was under the necessity of surrendering his fortress to the Turks.*

It is evident that this event rendered the military position of the Servians much worse. Negotiations were once more opened, in May, 1813, under very unfavourable auspices.

Kara George now found himself obliged to concede an important point to the Turks. He consented to admit their

* Andreossy assures us, that Mollah Pacha (so called because he had for a time been Secretary to Passvan Oglu) was not beheaded or assassinated, as has been said, but died of the plague at Scutari. This statement has also been confirmed to me from another quarter.

garrisons into the fortresses; but on condition that their small arms, which they had formerly been permitted to wear, should be left to the Servians. He also insisted that, at all events, those Turks who had been expelled should not be permitted to return, as on this, unquestionably, depended the peace of the country.

Never had the two parties seemed nearer coming to an agreement. The Tschelebi Effendi, an aged man, who had brought many a difficult business to a successful termination, felt confident that he should be equally fortunate on the present occasion. He sent the proposals of the Servians to Constantinople, and promised the people an early decision. It is needless to inquire whether he really expected this; but, in fact, it was now impossible.

Were not these the same contentions and disputes which had been the principal causes of the war? Could it be imagined that the Spahis—who formed a large portion of the army, which was already on the boundary of the country—would consent to be excluded from what they deemed their inheritance: at a moment too, when every thing seemed favourable for its recovery?

The Turks were again in possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of Viddin, and were also masters of Bulgaria. They were, moreover, inspired with peculiar confidence; from the circumstance that in the course of that very spring, the Holy Cities in Arabia had been freed from the Wechabites, and their keys brought to Constantinople. Under this aspect of affairs, would the victorious armies of the Grand Signior hesitate to commence the war with the rebellious Servian Rayahs?

At that very time, also, was received the news of the battle of Lutzen, which was regarded as a defeat of the Russians; and all fear of them was entirely cast aside. Besides, the Turks did not consider that they had broken the treaty; since the Servians rejected the interpretation which the Porte had given to it.

Determined to maintain the privileges of Islamism undiminished within the boundaries of the Empire, the Turkish army advanced towards the Servian frontiers, and recommenced the war.

CHAPTER XV.

WAR IN SERVIA IN THE YEAR 1813.

Great European Conflict.—The Christian and the Islamite Principles represented in the Servians and the Turks.—Opinion of the French Ambassador at Constantinople respecting the Conduct of England.—Solemn Religious Meetings and Warlike Proclamations of the Servians.—Anticipated Aid of Russia.—Monarchical Government of Kara George.—Changes in the Servian Constitution.—Difference between the Present and Former Military Proceedings.—Character of the Heyduc Veliko.—First Collision of the Servians with the Turks.—Mladen's jealousy of Veliko.—Death of Veliko in the Defence of Negotin.—Devastating Progress of the Turks on the Danube.—Junction of the Armies of the Grand Vizier and the Capitan Pacha.—Servian Prisoners conducted to Constantinople.—Continued Advance of the Turks.—Disastrous State of Servia.—Defection and Flight of Kara George.—The Turks take Possession of Smederevo and Belgrade without Resistance.

At the time when all the powers of civilised Europe were prepared to settle the most momentous question that had arisen for centuries, a conflict arose on the very boundaries of this continent, amongst those whom we may, without wronging them, truly style barbarians: a conflict which, though it cannot be compared with that which agitated Europe, as regards its influence on the world in general, was yet of great importance in determining the superiority of the Christian or of the Islam sway.

Nevertheless, some connexion might be observed between the two contests. The French Ambassador—who, unfortunately, was too reserved respecting his negotiations—reported only that the Porte, notwithstanding the disaster which had befallen the French, had not yielded to the influence of the combined Powers; but that, on the contrary, he had found greater facility in the prosecution of his diplomatic duties.

Popular opinion went much farther. The Turks who advanced into Servia declared, in plain terms, that they expected the assistance of France; that it was the wish of the Grand Signior to plant a military force on the frontiers of

Servia, for the purpose of threatening Austria, and thus preventing her from joining the coalition.

This would explain the fact that, whilst on former occasions a Pacha of Bosnia had disdained to fight against the Servians, the Grand Vizier Churschid, in person, now led the army against them.

The opinion of Andreossy was—that England, in order to occupy the attention of the Turks, and to prevent a renewal of the war on the Danube, had fomented the disturbances at Bagdad and the movements of the Persians, which were connected therewith, against the Ottoman Empire.*

At a time when all the powers were necessarily engaged, in the endeavour to bring to an issue the great Western question—on which the re-establishment or the downfall of the old States depended—it would unquestionably have proved a general calamity, had either Russia or Austria been compelled to resume the war on the Danube. How often have the Russians been reproached for having, at the breaking out of the Prussian war of 1806, divided their forces, and ventured at the same time to undertake a campaign on the Danube!

But might not something yet have been achieved in favour of Servia? We must leave this question undecided. In Europe, the minds of men were so occupied, that very little thought was given to this Eastern dispute. But this is certain—Servia was now left without assistance.

The Servians, however, fully understood the gravity and importance of the approaching struggle.

As soon as the enemy's advance was ascertained, Kara George ordered prayer-meetings to be held in all the Knesshines, in the week before the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. The proclamation which Kara George had sent to all the Voivodes, was read in full assembly; after the monks had repeated their vigils, and had prayed for victory over their enemies. In this proclamation he reminds the people of the grounds on which they had risen against the Turks: "that they had for nine years fought victoriously against

* Andreossy, 209. "L'Angleterre favorise et sème des mésintelligences du côté de Bagdad pour préoccuper les Turcs et les empêcher de rétablir l'état de guerre sur le Danube. * * * * Le général Andreossy entretient une correspondance avec Mirza Chefli, premier ministre de Perse."

them, every man not only for himself, but also for his religion, and for the lives of his children. They had found, too, a protector; for by a treaty which he had made, the Turks had been forbidden to return to the towns and palanks. To this the Sultan at Constantinople had agreed: but not so the Spahis and Janissaries, the citizens, and other inhabitants who had been driven from the country. The Turks had come, in opposition to the will of their imperial master, to re-conquer Servia; and they had determined to behead every male above the age of seven, to lead the women and children into captivity and make them Mahometans, and to settle another people in these districts. But," he proceeded, "have we any good reason to fear them? Are they not the same enemies whom we conquered in earlier times, when we had no means of resistance but our courage? Now, on the contrary, we count one hundred and fifty cannon in the country; seven fortresses, strongly built of stone; forty entrenchments—before which the Turks have often bled without being able to capture them; and our numbers are doubled by the arrival among us of our brethren of the land. No! for ten years we can resist them without any foreign aid: but, before the lapse of half a year, we shall witness the arrival of our ally. Only let the nation rise unanimously, take up arms, and not grudge even their lives in defence of their country and their religion."

Praying, and responding with a repeated "Amen!" he thus solemnly concluded:—"May God instil courage into the hearts of the sons of Servia! May he destroy the power of our enemies, who have come to annihilate the true faith!"

Upon this, every man made the requisite preparation; supplied himself with clothing and provisions, took with him some new opanks,* and repaired to the post assigned him for the defence of his country.

It was now to be proved whether Servia would be able to defend herself unassisted: at least until the great conflict in the West should be decided, and attention again be directed towards the East.

And what could have appeared more propitious for Servia than the established monarchical government of Kara

* Sandals.

George; who was now able to employ the very considerable forces he had obtained, for the furtherance of the general welfare.

It is not always, however, that such anticipations are realised.

Kara George had not become thus powerful without materially changing the constitution of the state—a constitution which had been formed by the natural character of the people. The Gospodars were very closely connected with their vassals, Buljukbashes, and Voivodes of minor importance: they had all grown up in intimate union together. True, the appointment of new Voivodes, under the influence of the Commander-in-chief, made the unity of the state more complete, but at the same time it checked the development of national energy in separate districts.

And since this local spirit was no longer to be relied upon, they had boldly determined to renounce a system in which the defence of the country depended on the freer co-operation of those provincial chiefs.

Kara George's first idea had been—and it would have accorded well with his position at the moment—to destroy the entrenchments on the frontiers, and with his entire force to await the enemy in the mountains of the Schumadia. He would thus have been able to avail himself of all the advantages which the nature of the country offered, and in his own peculiar territory. But Kara George was persuaded to abandon this intention by Mladen, whose friendship had already drawn him into so many difficulties: and who, it is said, was afraid of losing some property which he possessed near the frontier.

It was accordingly determined again to oppose the enemy by stationing troops on the three boundaries of the country, which in the former wars had always been defended: on the Drina, on the Morava, and on the Danube. In Jagodina it was the intention of Kara George to form a reserve, for the succour of that division which might be in the greatest danger.

This was a somewhat more systematic mode of proceeding than had been resorted to on former occasions: when Kara George preferred to head the attack himself, and in the ardour of a warlike spirit had flown from one frontier to the

other. The main differences, however, were these: no Nenadovitsch now commanded on the Drina; his place was occupied by the Knes Sima; at Deligrade Peter Dobrinjaz was replaced by his adversary Mladen; and the fortifications on the Danube were entrusted to the Heyduc Veliko, instead of to Milenko.

It was against Veliko that the Turks first directed their attack. They had now the advantage, which they had not possessed in former times, of having at their disposal the troops of Viddin; which had hitherto always been governed by a Pacha who sought only his own interest. But above all things the Turks were desirous of vanquishing the Heyduc, whom the Servians looked upon as their hero.

And such Veliko deserved to be considered: though only such a one as the country, the times, and the events of the age could produce. When the Russians — of whom he thought so highly that he could never believe Napoleon to have advanced so far as Moscow — once told him "not to call himself *Heyduc*, which signified a *robber*," he replied — "I should be sorry if there were any greater robber than I am." And it is true that he was insatiable in quest of booty: for the sake of a few piastres, he would hazard his life; yet what he obtained he would immediately give away. "If I possess aught," he would say, "any one may share it with me; but if I have not anything, woe be to him who has, and does not freely permit me to share it with him." He was eager in the pursuit of pleasure; of a lively humour, good-natured, and of a frank disposition: a man might trust his life with him, but not his secret. He was fond of war: not for the attainment of any specific object; but for its own sake. He prayed that Servia might be engaged in war so long as he lived, but that after his death she might enjoy peace. He did not like to command soldiers brought from the plough; but preferred Momkes, Bekjares, and practised warriors. He quarrelled with his wife because she refused to treat his Momkes as well as she treated him: "All of them," he said, "were his brothers." No one was better fitted for bold enterprises and hazardous excursions; and he was best pleased when employed in the mountains: for defending the defiles of which he was admirably qualified. On the present occasion, however, he was not entrusted with

a duty of this nature ; but was called upon to show, whether his qualifications were such as would enable him to defend fortified places and entrenched positions on the frontier.

Veliko's brother, Milutin, was the first to encounter the Turks ; who appeared near Kladovo, and attacked the peasants as they were busily engaged in carrying off their property into the mountains. Milutin dispersed the enemy ; but, from inability to pursue them with his horsemen over the mountain paths, he did not succeed in recapturing all the booty and prisoners they had taken.

On hearing of this, Veliko determined to scour the country whilst awaiting the enemy. He drove many thousand head of cattle into his citadel of Negotin, and ventured as far as the gates of Viddin : where he was seen, on his Arabian steed, in the plain before the fortress. Near Bukovtscha he put to flight the first Turkish troops which appeared on the Timok.

But when the Turks arrived, 18,000 strong, he was obliged to shut himself up in Negotin. It was then his delight to make sallies, day after day, and night after night ; and thus to keep the besiegers constantly in a state of alarm. Compared with the losses which he caused them, his own were trivial : though he lost better soldiers, and each diminution of his numbers could not but be seriously felt. At last both parties were obliged to solicit aid—the Turks, from the Grand Vizier ; and Veliko, from Kara George and the Senate.

The Turks were not long unassisted. Retchep Aga, the Wallachian Prince Karadja, and the Grand Vizier himself, led on a re-inforcement. They made their way under cover of the night, and by mining, nearer and nearer to the fortifications. They battered down with their cannon one tower of Negotin after another : and lastly the highest, which was the residence of Veliko himself. Still he lost not his courage ; but went down and lived in the vault. Everything, of lead or tin, which could be found in the place, he melted into balls ; not excepting even spoons and lamps ; and one day, when all metal else was exhausted, he ordered his men to load their guns with pieces of money instead of bullets, and thus successfully kept off the enemy. If he could but have received assistance ! On receiving Veliko's

request for aid, Kara George, whose corps of reserve had never been brought into a state of efficiency, sent to Mladen. But Mladen's answer was:—"He may help himself! *His* praise is sung to him, at his table, by ten singers; *mine* is not: let him then keep his ground—the hero!" The Senate—to whom Veliko had written, in the most severe terms, saying that "at Christmas he would inquire in what manner the country was governed!"—at length sent a vessel to him with ammunition: but it arrived too late.

On the morning as Veliko, according to custom, was going his rounds, and just when ordering the repair of a redoubt which had been damaged by the enemy, he was recognised—for the combatants were very near to each other—by a Turkish artilleryman, who aimed at him. The aim was true. Uttering the words—"Stand firm!" [*Drshte se!*] Veliko fell to the ground: his body lay torn asunder! His Momkes covered the corpse with hay, and in the evening buried it near the church. In vain they endeavoured to conceal the death of their leader: his absence was too grievously felt.

Now, for the first time, the Servians became aware how much had depended upon this man. Had the Heyduc lived to see the arrival of a fresh supply of ammunition, he might long have defended his own position and the whole of this frontier. Had he only escaped with his life, his presence would always have inspired courage and resistance. But now despondency prevailed in Negotin. Whilst Veliko lived no one had dared to speak of flight or surrender; but five days after his death the garrison escaped across a morass and gained the road to Poretsch. The troops in Bersa Palanka and Great Ostrova, now also retreated before the advance of the enemy, and took the same road. Schivko Constantinovitsch—who, through the favour of Mladen, had been elected Voivode of Kladovo—regardless of the vast efforts which the capture of that place had cost, joined the President of the Magistracy, Jozo—who, like himself, was a townsman—and fled under the protection of the Momkes and Bekjares. Kladovo, consequently, felt the full rage of the enemy; to whose merciless fury it was abandoned: men were impaled; and children, in derision of the rite of baptism, were thrown into boiling water!

Whilst the Turks were ravaging the neighbouring Nahias, all who could effect their escape had fled to Poretsch. Here, under an incompetent Voivode of Mladen's appointing, a more able commander, Hadji Nicola, had, in consequence of the general danger, obtained the authority. His exertions, however, proved equally unavailing. He erected a redoubt on the lower point of the island; but the Turks effected a landing between the town and the fort; and as soon as they made their appearance, the people, who had become accustomed to flight, again fled. In vessels and boats—nay, even on planks or by swimming—they sought to escape the vengeance of the enemy, and to find safety on the Austrian bank of the Danube. Hadji Nicola was taken prisoner and beheaded; and the Turks advanced, without opposition, as far as Smederevo.

These great results on the Danube were followed by others on the Morava. The Grand Vizier, Churschid Pacha, was still less disposed now, than during the campaign of 1810, to lose time at Deligrade, which was bravely defended by Vuiza; he, therefore, left a part of his army behind for the siege of this fortress, and proceeded with the remainder down the right bank of the Morava.

Mladen, who was little of a warrior, and now felt himself far too weak to encounter the large Turkish force, did not even attempt resistance. The Grand Vizier was consequently able to proceed along the river without molestation; and at Petka he formed a junction with the troops of the Capitan Pacha. The united army took up its position close by the mouths of the Morava, opposite the Servians, who were on the other side of the river; and the Turks were reinforced by vessels of war: the largest that had ever been seen on the Morava.

Of the three great divisions of the country, the Servians had now entirely lost the one beyond the Morava. They were also nearly deprived of the second division, which lay on the further side of the Kolubara. Knes Sima did not offer any resistance to the passage of the Turks over the Drina, though all the Voivodes were anxious to give them battle; and when they encamped before Losnitza, he made no effort for its defence. Milosch of Pozerje had unfortunately been killed two years before, by a robber, whom he

was in pursuit of; and he was succeeded by his brother, who, by no means equalled him in talent. To this brother, Losnitza was now entrusted; and he was foolish enough to allow himself to be persuaded by the bishop of Svornik, who accompanied the Turkish force, that no harm should occur to him or his people, and he accordingly surrendered.

Thus, the Turks, with little trouble, regained possession of Kulin's scimitar. They conducted their prisoners, under an armed escort, through Bosnia, and at length to Constantinople: whence none of them ever returned.

Antonie Bogitschevitsch was no longer alive, to defend Losnitza, as he had formerly done. Peter Moler, who had taken his place, did not, it is true, suffer himself to be duped by the bishop's assurances; but he did not venture to defend the place; and was content to effect his own escape.

In like manner Knes Sima allowed the Turks to advance, without coming to any regular engagement. Even when they attacked the fortress of Ravanj, which was defended by the valiant Voivodes, Stojan Tschupitsch, Milosch Obrenovitsch, and Prota Nenadovitsch—he remained inactive in his camp: paralysed by an unaccountable insensibility: he sent neither ammunition, (of which those chiefs soon felt the want,) nor troops, whose aid they greatly needed: were it only to procure a brief repose after the fatigues to which they had been subjected, and their protracted loss of sleep. For seventeen harassing days, the Voivodes defended the entrenchment; during which time they affirm that they suffered such privations as had never before been endured in a fortress. At length they abandoned the place to the enemy; who immediately advanced against Schabaz, where Knes Sima was encamped.

The country was now in greater danger than ever. In the year 1806, many considered themselves lost when the Turks had forced their way only from the Drina to Schabaz, without having touched any other districts; in 1809, the country was thought to be ruined because the enemy had obtained possession of the right bank of the Morava; but now the Moslems had advanced, victoriously, on both sides, and the Schumadia alone remained free from the invaders. In the first war, Kara George had saved the country by his glorious battle on the Mischar; and, in the second, he had

made such excellent arrangements, that the left bank of the Morava remained unmolested, and in a short time he was able to re-conquer the right bank.

Amidst the present difficulties, he was looked for with greater anxiety than ever. An opportunity was now afforded him of establishing his claims to the exercise of sovereign sway over the whole country: he might now have exemplified the uses and privileges of monarchical power. But, from some incomprehensible cause, he neither appeared on the Drina, on the Danube, nor on the Morava; he remained inactive, with some Momkes—at one time in Topola, at another in the vicinity of Belgrade: nowhere was he seen, and many persons actually believed him to be dead.

Had he been required to command a division of the army, or to defend a fortress, he would doubtless have displayed his wonted valour; but now, since he had not directly to confront the enemy, he only shared the feelings of the defeated and discouraged fugitives. He no longer felt that energy which the presence of the enemy inspires in the brave; all the friends to whom his ear was open, desponded, and thought of flight; and he also was seized by the universal panic, which bore him along resistlessly.

Some men are more competent to acquire, than to retain: the hopes of future possession—of future greatness, urge them incessantly onward; the discouragement of defeat deprives them of their calm judgment.

If we mistake not, Kara George, amidst the general wreck, cherished the idea of seeking safety in a neighbouring country, and of concealing his treasures. It is a known fact, that he buried his money: hoping to return at some favourable opportunity, in more prosperous times, with the support of the allies whom he had mentioned in his proclamation. In this design he was probably confirmed by the Russian Consul; who, it has been asserted—though the fact cannot be proved—exercised great influence over him at the time. Not that this can, in any way, excuse the conduct of Kara George; whose duty it was to stake his life for the nation, which had entrusted its entire welfare to him. Nor could it, by any means, be considered that all was lost. The fortresses might at least have held out till the approach of winter; and the people might have maintained their ground on the moun-

tains ; for the inclemency of the season, and the scarcity of provisions, would have been sufficient to drive the Turks out of the country. And if all their efforts had failed, the Servians would at least have fallen with glory.

But there was no foundation here for that moral courage which enables men to withstand the inroads of misfortune, and with a full knowledge of the danger, to risk even their lives, actuated by a high sense of honour. Such noble deeds of self-devotion are not to be found in Servian history. Kara George himself was not capable of them.

On the first of October, he appeared in the camp on the Morava. It is not rightly known what he did there, or whether the state in which he found affairs confirmed him in his despondency ; but, the very next day, the Turks crossed the river, before his eyes, without his having the means to prevent them ; and on the day following, Kara George, with Nedoba, Leonti, Philippovitch, and his secretary Jaikni, fled across the Danube into the Austrian territory.

The defection of Kara George was the second heavy blow —Veliko's death being the first—that the Servian cause had sustained ; and it was decisive. The Turks marched into Smederevo and Belgrade without any resistance being offered ; those fortresses having been left, under the pressure of the moment, without supplies of provisions. The whole country now stood defenceless, and open to the enemy.

CHAPTER XVI.

RENEWED DOMINION OF THE TURKS.

Evil Results of Evil Deeds.—Opposition of the Gospodars to Mladen and Miloie.—Flight of Kara George and the Servian Senators into Austria.—Kara George, Mladen, and other Chiefs, admitted into Austrian Fortresses.—Flight of the Garrison of Schabaz on the Approach of the Turks.—Milosch Obrenovitsch remains in the Country.—He garrisons Uschize.—The Turks invest him with Powers to tranquillize the Country.—He induces other Voivodes to submit.—Appointed by the Pacha of Belgrade to be Grand Knes of Rudnik, &c.—Return of the Expelled Spahis.—Oppression and Cruelty exercised by the Turks.—Affray between Turks and Servians.—Milosch disperses the Insurgents.—The Pacha disregards his Promises.—Barbarity of the Turks towards the Servians.—Fortunate Escape of Milosch from Belgrade.—Milosch places himself at the Head of a General Insurrection.

That a principle of retribution is observable in human affairs, has been often asserted by some writers, and as frequently doubted by others. Without presuming to scrutinize the doctrine of a direct and supernal interposition of the Most High, we may remark that it seems to be the natural course of things for the same disposition and passions which have originated an evil deed to produce an effect, perhaps of a more powerful kind, which follows close upon the perpetration of the crime, and torments the after life of the guilty.

In the instance of the Servian war at least, we may trace the misfortunes which now afflicted the people, to their source in the outrages committed at Belgrade, and the plunder and slaughter of the Turks. Without doubt the chiefs who commanded in Belgrade at the time were most to be blamed. These were Mladen, who was at the head of the garrison; Miloie, who led the Bekjares; and Sima Markovitsch, Knes of the Nahia of Belgrade. They enriched themselves by the booty they had gained; and allied themselves more closely with Kara George, who had permitted the perpetration of these atrocities.

Hence it followed that a party was formed, who, identify-

ing their own advantage with the interest of the Commander-in-Chief, fought for him indeed; but, through their violence and outrages, aroused opposition against his power.

We have seen how often the Gospodars rebelled against the influence of Mladen and Miloie; who, in fact, ruled Belgrade with a sway not much milder than that of the Turks. They opposed Mladen especially, who was the most powerful. The Gospodars were defeated: the most resolute amongst them were obliged to flee; but by these means a power was lost, which, in the moment of danger, would have been of the greatest service to the country. In this country, where neither military order, nor the common tie of nationality, had been thoroughly established, its defence must be founded, according to the natural principle of feudalism, in a long personal possession and in local influence.

The party formed at Belgrade having mainly contributed towards the establishment of monarchical power, had also a large share in its exercise: Mladen, both in war in peace; and Knes Sima, from having repeatedly held offices of command. But they were incapable of replacing those commanders who had been exiled. Their power in this fatal year proved injurious: Mladen suffered the Heyduc to perish, and did not defend the Morava; while Sima allowed the Bosnians to proceed to Schabaz without bringing them to an engagement. Such were the events that caused the general ruin.

Thus was verified the prediction of the old Kmetes, "that the people would some day have to atone for their atrocities."

No sooner had Kara George fled, than the Senators followed his example, by escaping to Austria. Upon the news that the Turks were in Belgrade, the project entertained in the camp of Schabaz, of sending Milosch Obrenovitsch thither, with two thousand men, was relinquished. The leaders of the army, all the most distinguished Voivodes, escaped across the Danube. Vuitza also left Deligrade, with his three thousand men; nor did he consider himself in safety until he reached Pantschova, on the farther side of the Danube. Thus all the divisions of the army were completely broken up.

How entirely was the aspect of affairs now changed! The

most influential of the Servian leaders were taken into Austrian fortresses: Kara George, to Gratz; Mladen, to Bruk, on the Mur; Jacob, Vuitza, Sima, and Leonti, to other places. Somewhat later, upon the intercession of Russia in their behalf, they were all allowed to pass into Bessarabia. The less influential chiefs indeed, remained at liberty in the Austrian territory; yet they never ventured to return to their own land. Some Voivodes were still left in Servia; but they retired from the wrath of their countrymen into the secret places of the mountains. The Turks, on the other hand, took possession of the country as masters; in no instance encountering the slightest opposition. They met with no difficulty in returning to the fortresses, for the conquest of which the Servians had made such strenuous efforts. On the mere rumour of their approach, the garrison of Schabaz fled; and in a moment, as it were, the Ottoman dominion again spread itself over towns, palanks, and villages. Thus the triumphant career of the Turks remained unchecked.

The Servian power had been so completely destroyed by a single campaign, which had not produced even one great defeat, and by the flight of the leaders, that it was no longer capable of inspiring fear. During *nine* years it had maintained its position amidst the most severe conflicts, and it was now all at once annihilated.

It was a circumstance of vast importance in such considerations, that there still remained some Voivodes who had not fled; and that of the independent chieftains—the Gospodars,—at least one was left—Milosch Obrenovitsch.

When the army of Schabaz dispersed, and so many of the Voivodes escaped over the Save, Milosch Obrenovitsch alone, of all the number, continued on the Servian side of the river, mourning over the past,—meditating on the future. As he rode along the bank of the Save, Jacob Nenadovitsch once more came over to Sabreschje, where Milosch had stopped to refresh his horses, and tried to persuade him to seek safety in flight. "What will my life profit me in Austria?" he answered: "while in the meantime the enemy will sell into slavery my wife and child and my aged mother. No! whatever may be the fate of my fellow-countrymen shall be mine also!"

The feeling of Milosch was, that a man should not desert

his country in the hour of her misfortune. The arguments of Jacob made no impression upon him. He forthwith hastened to his home at Brusnizza. Here, in the southern districts, no enemy had yet appeared; and Milosch may have hoped to be able to maintain his ground. He garrisoned Uschize, and distributed clothes and arms amongst the Bekjares,—who, after the flight of the other chiefs, had assembled around him; and he trusted that the people would obey his commands. But when the Turks approached, it was soon found impossible to resist them. The utmost that any individual hoped was to be able to preserve his own home, wife, and children, by submitting to the conquerors. No force could be kept together; even the garrison of Uschize fled on the first report of the enemy's approach.

But though Milosch could not offer open resistance, his conduct was such as to make no slight impression on the Turks. In order to tranquillise the country, in some degree, it was natural that the conquerors should seek the co-operation of one or other of the native chiefs. Accordingly, they addressed themselves to Milosch, promising that if he would surrender and aid them in quieting the people, they would make him a Knes and a Governor, as he had been under Kara George.

This was a proposal of great importance for Servia.

The Ottomans found themselves under the necessity of requesting the assistance of the yet unsubdued chieftains of the country; and it was manifestly advantageous for the Servians, that a government should be formed, comprising some of the national elements.

Milosch determined to accept the offer; and in the village of Takovo, he laid his arms at the feet of the Aga Ali Sertschesma, Delibascha of the Grand Vizier. The Aga, however, accepted only the sabre: returning to him his pistols, musket, and dagger, with permission to wear them as heretofore; and, according to promise, at once acknowledged him as Grand Knes of Rudnik. Hereupon Milosch not only assisted in tranquillising his own district, but also induced other Voivodes to surrender as he had done. Ali Aga even went so far as to request that he might have the honour of introducing him to the Grand Vizier at Belgrade;

who received Milosch with marks of honour, and confirmed him in his dignity of Grand Knes of Rudnik.

Soliman, of Skoplje in Herzegovina, who had been made Pacha of Belgrade, was no friend to the Servians; against whom he had often fought during the preceding nine years; but even he assented to the appointment.

"Look!" said he, as he introduced Milosch to his Court; "behold here my beloved Baschknes—my son by adoption! He is now quiet and modest; yet many a time have I been obliged to betake myself to flight before him; and at length, at Ravanj, he wounded me in the arm. There, my adopted son!" he said, showing him his wounded hand, "thou hast bitten me!" Milosch replied:—"But now will I also gild this hand."

Upon this Soliman appointed him at once, by a "burunty," Grand Knes of Rudnik, Poscheja and Kragujevaz; and presented him with a pair of handsome pistols and an Arabian steed.

Independently of Milosch, some other chieftains became reconciled with the Turks: Abram Lukitsch, formerly Sovietnik, an aged, eloquent, and highly esteemed man; and the Voivode Axenti, who was now made Knes of Belgrade. They were allowed to wear arms; and at times the Pacha would pay attention to their intercession in favour of others. Stanoje Glavasch, also, was still in the country; but, as he had been a Heyduc, the dignity of a Knes could not be conferred upon him. He performed the duties of a Sirdar in the district of Smederevo; permission to wear his arms having been accorded him.

Although by such means the Turks engaged some of the Servian chieftains in their service, it must not be supposed that they had, in the slightest degree, relinquished their claims of exclusive and complete dominion.

As the terms of the Treaty, according to their interpretation, had not been amicably fulfilled, they no longer cared for its stipulations; but having recovered possession of the country, by hostile invasion, they governed as they thought fit.

The Pacha kept a strong military force distributed over the country. Even in small places—for instance, in Bato-

tschina and Hassan Passina Palanka—from two to three hundred Albanian or Bosnian soldiers were stationed, who were fed and paid by the surrounding districts. This force constituted a sort of armed executive.

Under its protection, not only did the banished Spahis return, but also the expelled Turkish inhabitants. They found their houses in the towns and palanks mostly destroyed; but they resumed possession of their property, meditating revenge for their losses. And no sooner had they gained a firm footing, than they put to death many of those whom they regarded as their especial enemies.

It could not for a moment be supposed that the Servians would be permitted to administer justice themselves, as they had been promised by the treaty of peace. On the contrary, whereas formerly there had been only one Musellim in each district, Soliman now appointed functionaries of this class in places of less importance; where in former times none had resided. Of the Kadi, whose office it was to administer justice by the side of the Musellim, nothing more was heard.

The Pacha demanded a very high Poresa, and the Turks themselves went through the country to collect it.

Soliman also thought it desirable, again to accustom the peasants to bond-service, and therefore employed them in building fortifications. As they were kept at this labour for weeks, without being relieved, disease broke out amongst them, and many perished; and so little did the Turks appear to be concerned at this, that they were suspected of having themselves killed many of the bondmen.

It was one of the principal objects of the new administration, to deprive the Servians of their weapons—small arms as well as large; and Sirdars were sent through the country to disarm the people.

Often were the women seen with tears in their eyes, on beholding the weapons of their relations and friends in the hands of the Turks, who displayed them at every opportunity. The women themselves had now to resort to measures for self-defence: the wife of Milosch was even obliged to disguise herself in the dress of a Servian female peasant, when the Musellim visited her house.

The oppression now experienced by the Servians was a

source of continual irritation and alarm : and—remembering the victories they had formerly achieved—they felt it as an insult ; which rendered it quite insupportable.

It is likely, too, that the news of the successful termination of the Great European question—in which the friends of the people had triumphed over the pretended allies of the Turks—had exerted an influence on the minds of the Servians.

A trivial incident sufficed, in the first instance, to excite disturbance, and afterwards to occasion a general insurrection.

Towards the end of the autumn of 1814, the Musellim of Poschega, and a former Voivode, Hadji Prodan of Sjenitza, with some of their respective followers, happened to meet in the Cloister Tranava, where both had sought a retreat from the plague, which had recently broken out in Servia. One day the Chiefs of the parties walked together into the country ; and during their absence, their men got into a dispute. The Igumen of the Cloister sided with his own countrymen, the Servians ; and the Turks were very soon bound and plundered. The incident in itself was trivial, yet it immediately caused a general rising throughout Poschega and Kragujevaz, as far as Jagodina. Hadji Prodan, who had withdrawn as speedily as possible from the Musellim, his companion, spared no pains to spread the insurrection ; and exhorted Milosch to make himself Commander-in-chief, as Kara George had formerly done.

This, however, could not, at present, be expected of Milosch. Feeling indebted to the Turks for recent favours, and convinced that an attempt so entirely unprepared must miscarry, and thus inevitably bring ruin upon the country, he formed a totally different resolution. Accompanied by Aschim Beg, Musellim of Rudnik, with whom he had formed a bond of brotherhood, he set out for Poschega, in order to suppress the movement ; but on their arrival, Hadji Prodan fled. Milosch then proceeded to Kragujevaz ; where, after having amicably won over some of the principal leaders, Simon Pastrevaz, Blagoje of Knitsch, and Vutschitsch, he did not hesitate even to commence a slight skirmish with the others who were unwilling to submit. The insurgents kept the field ; but when they found that

Milosch was in earnest in opposing them, they dispersed during the night. On receipt of this intelligence, the leaders of the band that had risen in Jagodina fled into the forests, whence they solicited pardon, and their adherents dispersed.

Whilst Milosch endeavoured to re-establish tranquillity, he neglected no precaution in favour of his countrymen. He aided several parties in their escape: for instance, the women in Hadji Prodan's house, who had fallen into the hands of the Turks—at least, the youngest, his daughter-in-law, who effected her escape in man's attire. He had given the first intelligence of the insurrection to Soliman Pacha; at the same time informing him of his intention to suppress it; and he obtained the assurance that, if the insurgents would at once voluntarily surrender, no one should be harmed: with the exception of Hadji Prodan, whom it was necessary to punish.

But the Pacha's actions did not correspond with his words. The Kiaja of Soliman did not arrive at Tschatschak until after the complete restoration of order; but he nevertheless compelled the inhabitants to point out the ringleaders of the insurrection, and carried them off with him in chains. Fortunately, Milosch succeeded in preventing him from plundering the villages in Kragujevaz and Jagodina, and leading off the inhabitants as slaves; by threatening to withdraw from him, and to exert himself no further in tranquillising the country. But these threats could not prevent the Kiaja from carrying away, in chains, the presumed ringleaders of the insurrection. It is true, he again promised that his prisoners, although they would be made to suffer pecuniary loss, and even corporal punishment, should not be put to death; but soon after his arrival with them at Belgrade, notwithstanding the promise given both by him and by the Pacha, the less influential of the prisoners, to the number of 150, were beheaded in front of the four gates of the city. The Igumen of Trnava, with thirty-six others, were impaled.* These were all young, high-spirited and brave men, of good descent, who had been amongst the first to join the insurrection; and whose influence in the country induced the Turks to put them to death.

* December 5, 1814.

In accordance with this cruel chastisement was the reckless tyranny by which the Turks thought to prevent further movements. Whilst again searching diligently for arms—for the insurrection had proved that there were still many weapons concealed—they perpetrated innumerable outrages. Mahometan gipsies would compel Servians whom they met, to take off their good clothes, and receive their own ragged ones in exchange. Whatever might be found in the houses, in the way of clothing, the materials of which had not been made by the women, but purchased, was taken away. Frequently, whilst making this search, the Turks would fill bags, like those out of which horses eat, with ashes, tie them under the chins of the women, and, by beating upon them, cause the dust to ascend into their mouths and nostrils. Some were bound hand and foot, and thus suspended by the extremities, with heavy stones hung from the middle of their bodies. Some were flogged to death; others roasted alive on spits. Many other atrocities are known to have been perpetrated, which we must pass over in silence.

Nor were the Chiefs spared in this visitation. Amongst those executed before Belgrade were venerable Senators, such as Milia Stravkovitsch; and aged and renowned Voivodes, such as Stephen Jacoblevitsch. Nor could even the office of Sirdar protect Stanoje Glavasch; who was put to death, although guiltless of any offence.

Prudent representations were repeatedly made to the Pacha, that in acting thus cruelly, he did not govern the country according to the interest of the Grand Signior. Even a Turk, Bego Novljanin, who had formerly been extremely oppressive to the Servians, expressed himself convinced of this. The Pacha listened quietly, but said he was still far from acting up to his instructions from the Porte,—that, in fact, he was sparing the country.

What, then, was to be done? Was Milosch quietly to suffer the promise which had been given to him, in consequence of the services he had rendered, to be violated? He happened to be present at Belgrade when the head of Glavasch was brought in. "Hast thou seen the head, Knes?" asked a Turk in Soliman's suite, of Milosch; "it will be thy turn next." "Vallah!" replied Milosch; "I no longer consider the head I carry my own!"

In fact, when he prepared to leave Belgrade, the Turks endeavoured to prevent him; but he had taken the precaution to purchase sixty slaves, including one distinguished female slave, from the Pacha; and had thus become his debtor for more than one hundred purses. Upon his assurance that only by himself and Dmitri could the sale of such a number of oxen, as was necessary to raise this sum, be effected, he at length received permission to depart.

Very early the next morning they rode out of the city. Milosch had formed his resolution; and he had not required long consideration to do so. In Zrnutschka, in the midst of the mountains of Rudnik—where, since the return of the Turks, he had built a house and outbuildings on a steep declivity—he found not only his Momkes, but many other dependents, with the same views as himself. These people had left their houses, where they no longer felt themselves in safety, and had fled to Milosch; in order, as they said, to save their heads. During the day they occupied themselves with clearing part of the forest, and planting plum-trees. At night, they went into the neighbouring districts for the purpose of gaining over the inhabitants, and to consult with them as to what they might best attempt under the circumstances of the time. Probably they did not entertain the hope of again effecting their liberation; but they judged it better to fight openly in the field, than to sit at home in expectation of Turkish executioners. They wished also to destroy some of the Turks, and to sell their own lives dearly. This was the feeling that had preceded the first revolution. At last, after long hesitation, Milosch also joined the party.

CHAPTER XVII.

REVOLUTION OF MILOSCH.

Parentage and early Life of Milosch.—His honourable Conduct.—Treachery of the Voivode Arseni Lomo.—His Punishment.—The People solemnly swear to obey Milosch as their Leader.—War is determined on in the Spring of 1815.—Opposing Views amongst the Servians.—Arrival of Succour.—Predatory War on the Upper Morava.—Spread of the Insurrection.—Advantages gained by the Servians.—Flight of the Turks from a fortified Position on the Kolubara.—Milosch strengthens his Position at Ljubitsch.—The Turks attack the Place.—Retreat of the Turks.—Kindness and Generosity of Milosch to the Prisoners.—Capture of Poscharevaz, and Expulsion of the Turks.—Milosch puts to Flight the Force of the Bosnian Pacha on the Drina.—Magnanimity of the Servian Chief.—Two formidable Turkish Armies arrive on the Frontiers.

AGAIN were the Servians in arms against the Turks. The atrocities that had been perpetrated, and apprehension for his own safety, induced Milosch to place himself at the head of this movement.

Milosch might be classed in the number of those chiefs who have created their own power. From the first he had become influential through relationship with his half-brother, Milan. His descent was as follows: his mother, Vischnja, was first married in Brusnizza, to the peasant Obren, to whom she bore Milan. Secondly, to another peasant of the name of Tescho (Theodore) at Dobrinje, in the district of Uschize, where she bore other children, and about the year 1780 gave birth to Milosch. But neither of her husbands having been possessed of wealth, her sons had to seek employment where they could. Milan was first engaged in traffic on his own account, at Brusnizza, and he gradually prospered. Milosch set out in life as a herdsman, and drove oxen to the markets of Dalmatia, for their owners; but he soon afterwards entered the service of Milan. They were so closely united that Milosch called himself Obrenovitsch, after Milan's father; though he ought to have been called, after his own father, Teschitsch, or Theodorovitsch. The brothers were

very successful in their traffic; and at the breaking out of the revolution, in 1804, they were considered as people of importance. In the very commencement of the war they rose against the Dahis; and Milan, through his great influence, became the Chief of Rudnik, Poscheja, and Uschize. He was, however, fond of quiet; and Milosch relieved him of fatigue by carrying on the war. We have already mentioned Milan's implication in the opposition to Kara George, and also his death; after which his brother succeeded to the chief command; although he found his power not a little restricted. Probably it was because he was not very closely allied to the ruling party, that in the year 1813, he had felt little inclination to pass over into Austria with the other chiefs; but when all the rest then left the country, his authority became greater than ever; not only in his own districts—where he was now Grand Knes of *three* Nahias—but throughout the entire territory; and the eyes of the whole nation were directed towards him. The Turks could not but fear him, and were obliged to pay him more respect than they wished. So long as their sway could be at all endured, he had supported them; but, when it became intolerable, and his own life was threatened, he determined to rise against them. He had made an agreement with his bond-brother, the Musselim Aschin Beg, that if at any time danger menaced either of them, Milosch should warn Aschin Beg of his enemies among the Servians; and Aschin should point out to Milosch those Turks of whom he should beware. On the *Friday* before *Palm Sunday*, 1815, Milosch conducted the Musselim away from his districts: the moment of the outbreak being at hand.

In the same week, the adherents of Milosch commenced by attacking some individuals—receivers of the Poresa and collectors of the Haradsch; but the most formidable assault occurred at Rudnik, against Tokatlitsch, the predecessor of Aschin Beg. That officer, it is true, had, on the request of Milosch, been discharged; but he still continued to reside in the place, in his fortified house, surrounded by a few Momkes. Here Arseni Lomo—one of the Voivodes who had been appointed by Kara George, and had remained in the country, having surrendered after the example of Milosch—laid a kind of siege against him, assisted by a considerable troop.

Tokatlitsch soon despaired of being able to defend himself against such a force, and offered to treat for terms: he strewed salt upon a piece of bread, kissed it, and sent it to his enemy, requesting that he might be allowed to depart in safety. Lomo appeared to assent to the proposal: he also kissed the salt, pledged himself to grant his request, and even escorted him and his followers on their departure. But scarcely had they arrived on the height of Rudnik, when a troop, which had been lying in ambush, sprang forth, and slew the Turk and all his Momkes: one alone excepted.

This was, indeed, a barbarous commencement of an enterprise, the object of which was to re-establish a lawful state of things! But retaliation and vengeance quickly followed. The Momke who had been spared, rode on a short distance with Lomo, and reproached him with his treachery; but Lomo denied having had any knowledge of the intended attack. Presently the Momke drew from his belt a large and beautiful silver-handled knife; saying to Lomo, "Take it! if thy countrymen should kill me also, still a hero will wear this knife; if they do not, then keep it in remembrance of me." Lomo, who had really been guilty of the treachery imputed, regaining confidence, took the knife, and stooped to place it in his belt; when the Turk fired a pistol at his head, and rode off at full speed. He escaped; and Lomo had received the punishment due to his crime!

Happily, we do not meet with any other similar act of baseness throughout the revolution of Milosch.

On Palm Sunday, 1815, Milosch himself came forward: early in the morning, he appeared at the Church of Takovo, amidst large numbers of the people who had assembled there. Even the old men, usually so cautious, now demanded a revolution; and all present swore, unanimously, to forget their internal dissensions, and to obey Milosch. In the interim the Momkes assembled in Zrnutscha. Brilliantly armed, and with the banner of a Voivode in his hand, Milosch stepped into the midst of the assembly. "Here am I!" he said; "and now war against the Turks is begun!"

On Easter Sunday, Milosch once more addressed the people, near the Cloister of Moravzi, where many had assembled from the districts of Valjevo and Belgrade; on the

frontier of which it stands. It would have been impossible for him to meet with a more favourable reception: every one was convinced that war was preferable to such a peace as now existed.

Letters and messengers were despatched to all the persons of consideration throughout the province, apprising them that "a revolution was commencing, and that whenever a green dress"—which was the garb of the Turks—"was seen, they were bound to kill the wearer;" it was resolved to commence war on the spot without any delay. The people now drew forth their arms from the hollow trees and clefts, where they had concealed them; and such as had been stripped of their weapons were furnished with others by their neighbours. Entrenchments were thrown up on the boundaries of Milosch's districts, where the greatest danger was apprehended.

This enterprise was, perhaps, even more hazardous than the attack upon the Dahis. The people, although they for the moment expressed the most courageous sentiments, were, nevertheless, intimidated and depressed by the recollection of their late disasters. The military forces of the Turks spread over the country, were numerous and powerful. The Kiaja of the Pacha had, in a few days, assembled more than 10,000 men; besides whom there appeared some hundreds of Servians, under the command of the Knes Axenti. A force like this was not to be checked by such entrenchments as had been hurriedly thrown up: the enemy advanced against Rudnik as far as Maidan; and it appeared likely that this insurrection would not terminate more favourably than that of Hadji Prodan. When it was seen that the Kiaja sacrificed all who resisted him, but showed mercy to those who submitted, many, even of the men who shortly before had clamoured for the revolution, yielded to him. Two plans, almost equally desperate, were entertained by the insurgents, who still kept the field. Some were disposed to effect a reconciliation with the Turks, and to assist them against Milosch himself; others, on the contrary, proposed the slaughter of the women and children; saying the men could then retire into the mountains, and war against the enemy for the remainder of their lives.

At this critical moment, succour arrived. The re-inforce-

ment was not great; consisting only of 500 Gruschanians, 200 Zernagoreans from the mountains of Rudnik, and a number of Levatscheans from the distant Jagodina. But they were all resolute men, who could be relied upon; and they were under the command of Johan Dobratscha, who in former times had been quietly engaged in trade, but now displayed energy and courage unlooked for under his calm exterior. Confidence and hope were restored by their arrival, and it was determined to hazard an engagement, although the insurgents were numerically far inferior to the enemy.

The Kiarja, who would perhaps have acted more wisely had he pitched his camp in Rudnik, and done his utmost to keep in subjection those who had submitted, and reduce the others—thought it best to decend from the dreary mountains into the valley of the Morava; and encamped at Tschatschak, on the further side of that river, whence he imagined he could equally command the country.

Milosch hastened to avail himself of the advantage thus afforded him. He entrenched himself within a fortification opposite the Kiaja, on the left bank of the Morava, at the side of Mount Ljubitsch. The mountain which commands the valley, the river, and the steeply-rising range of hills, for the moment protected from the enemy the very districts which they had just traversed.

It is unnecessary to describe the hostility which was kept up on the Upper Morava: it was in fact a sort of robber-war. The Albanians infested the valley and the mountains on the other side; marauding both for booty and for men: the Servians concealing themselves from them in the defiles. Sometimes the Monks, with the armed servants of the cloisters, pursued them stealthily; lying in ambush for them in favourable spots; and it frequently happened that the pursued, in their despair, threw themselves into the river, where the pursuers following them, were seized and carried away by the torrent; women and children mingled with the Albanians; until their corpses were found by fishermen, and consigned to a common grave on its bank. The Turks could no longer effect anything on this side of the river. Any one seen with a *burunty* of the Pacha, which offered pardon, was killed without mercy; whether Servian or Turk.

But the main object attained was, that, whilst the forces of the Kiaja were detained in this part of the country, time was gained for kindling the revolution in the neighbouring districts also.

The outbreak next spread to the Nahias of Belgrade and Valjevo.

The Spahis, indeed, prepared without delay to bring these districts back to their duty by force. They threw up an entrenchment at Palesch, on the Kolubara, which it was their intention to occupy with two or three hundred men. But Milosch was already sufficiently strong to venture to leave his camp and go to the relief of his oppressed countrymen. He brought some troops with him from Ljubitsch; others collected around him; and thus he was in a position to attack the entrenchment before it was completed. In the former wars, the Servians had occasionally made use of two-wheeled cars, called Domusarabe: these were, in fact, swine-carts, which can only be called cars, because they admitted of a partition-board being fixed upright on the axle-tree in front of the driver. Behind these moving shields, they advanced to the charge. Milosch caused a great number of these carts to be procured in the evening, and sent the Spahis word—"That to-morrow, two hours before day-break, he would show them how they fought in Servia."

Being inferior in numbers, and badly entrenched, the Spahis did not consider it advisable to wait for an enemy, whom they knew of old. They, therefore, fled during the night; although nearly three hundred strong; and only a few effected their escape.

One principal advantage derived from this enterprise was, that it once more furnished the Servians with artillery. Near the entrenchment they found a piece of ordnance, which they soon managed to render serviceable: men who had never before touched a hammer assisting at the work. They also brought forward a second piece of cannon, which had hitherto been kept secreted from the Turks; and its possession was followed by the most fortunate results. On the news that an engagement near the boundaries had been successful, many Servian fugitives, who had remained in Syrmia and the Banat, came over. Stojan Tschupitsch, formerly Voivode of Matschva; Peter Moler, nephew of the

Archimandrite, Ruvim; Simon Nenadovitsch, a younger brother of Prota, and son of Alexa; Bojo Bogitschevitsch, the son of that Anthony who had so bravely defended Losnitza; Paul Zukitsch, formerly a well-known Heyduc, and Voivode under Kara George; the Kneses, Miloie Theodorovitsch and Maxim Raschkovitsch; and many other distinguished men, re-appeared in their fatherland, with Momkes, arms, and ammunition, and roused their adherents and countrymen to join the insurrection.

Under such circumstances, it was not very difficult for Milosch to clear Valjevo entirely from the Turks; who fled from a fortified position which they had taken on the Kolubara, at a little distance from Mount Klitschevaz, as soon as they saw his artillery. He would not allow them to be pursued. "God grant!" he exclaimed, "that they may all of them flee!"

Milosch returned to Ljubitsch with fresh forces—stronger in courageous troops than when he set out, and more terrible to the enemy from his having cannon—and victoriously repulsed the very first attack of the Turks. He was now no longer satisfied with the old fortification, but threw up new entrenchments close to the river. He so harassed the enemy, that they at length prepared for a grand attack—an attack which was decisive on both sides, though in a very unexpected manner.

The Servians could not boast of having repulsed the Turks; but they defended themselves most courageously. An old man named Raitsch, who had been standard-bearer under Kara George, and to whom one of the new fortifications had been entrusted, could not be persuaded to give way, even when all the others had fallen back: he wished to die near his guns; content to sell his life for as many of the enemy as possible. This entrenchment accordingly fell into the hands of the Turks; the other was abandoned; for on the Ljubitsch the want of men was much felt. To increase the apparent number of their remaining troops, the Servians on one occasion placed horses around the trenches, and poles with cloaks on them by their sides. After an interval, however, re-inforcements arrived; and they were once more in a condition to await the enemy with confidence.

In the meantime the resistance which the Servians offered

had made a greater impression on the Turks than they supposed; though we are without precise information respecting the proceedings in their camp. The loss of the Kiaja, who had perished in these conflicts, was likely still further to increase the disorders which usually arise in an army composed of warriors of different races and countries. One evening, a female slave who had escaped from the Turkish camp, came to inform the Servians of a great movement among the enemy; but whether the Turks meditated an attack or a retreat she knew not. The Servians prayed to God for the retiring of the enemy; at the same time they prepared to repel any attack that might be made. The next morning they learnt that the Turks were in full retreat up the southern mountain towards the height of Sjenitza. They probably thought this was the last moment in which they could carry off their booty in safety; but the Servians would not allow them to effect their object. Milosch overtook the fugitives near Ertari, and utterly dispersed them: not only the booty which they had acquired, but their own property which they had regained, as well as their artillery, fell into the hands of the Servians. Milosch took particular care to treat the prisoners well; he had them all conducted to Uschize: the wounded, having had their wounds dressed, were conveyed on barrows; those who were unhurt, on horseback; the women and children, unmolested, in waggons. The women knew not how to praise him sufficiently: "they had been treated," they said, "as though they had been their mothers and sisters." "A religion which commanded such conduct must," they affirmed, "be the true one."

On the receipt of the news of this attack, the Turks fled from their entrenchments in Kragujevaz; and thus a great part of the country was completely cleared of them. They still, however, possessed other fortified positions in the interior, which inspired them with greater confidence. The strongest of all their forts was one which had been erected in Poscharevaz; and whilst that remained untaken, nothing could be considered as decided.

Milosch, therefore, lost no time in leading his forces thither. Before he arrived at the place, the enemy came to meet him. "Delibascha!" he cried out to their leader, "I know not whether thou hast any other road than through

my forces; but I certainly have no other than to fight with thee for life or death!" He succeeded in driving the Turks into their fortifications; and on that very evening threw up field-works around them, on the spot where one of the severests contests was now about to commence. Milosch felt strong, from the conviction, that in each of these combats, everything was at stake; and that they must hazard all, to gain all.

Once more he represented to his captains, that any one who chose was at liberty to return home; but whoever remained must lead the way at the head of his troop; and that any who fled, whether leader or private soldier, must expect death from his hand.

Towards evening, Milosch commenced the assault. On three successive evenings, he carried the first, second, and third entrenchments; though not without the most strenuous exertions. The Turks defended themselves with their knives, when they could no longer use their swords; and frequently the combatants struggled hand to hand. But in return the Servians obtained as booty many superb horses, costly housings, and splendid garments.

The fourth entrenchment, which rested against the church and the mosque, was the most strongly fortified. The Servians, indeed, surmounted the works on the fourth evening; but they were still unable to succeed in driving out the enemy. They passed the night in front of the entrenchments; and the following morning began the assault anew. The church presented the greatest difficulty; for the Turks had pierced loop-holes in the walls, and fired through them. The Servians, however, soon broke through the wall, and forced their way even to the altar.* On this holy spot the fiercest combat was fought. More than once the Servians were compelled to fall back; but after a desperate struggle, they succeeded in maintaining their footing.

The Turks were now in despair. Their only demand was, that Dmitri, who was well known to them, should bring them the assurance that it was Milosch himself, an Imperial Knes, by whom they had been attacked: to him they consented to yield.

* In these churches, the whole of the choir, where the priest reads Mass, is termed "the Altar."

Milosch allowed them to depart to Kjupria under a Servian escort, with their arms (the cannon excepted), and only as much amunition as each man could carry with him.

Only one fortified place worth mentioning remained: this was on the junction of the Iwar near Karanovaz; and it had been so hard pressed during the absence of Milosch, that it was ready to surrender so soon as he appeared. He did not wish to irritate the enemy with insults; but granted them a free retreat to Novipasar, with their arms and all their property.

In this place the Pacha, Adem, resided; and several of the retiring garrison belonged to his force. Milosch sought to explain to him why the people had revolted, and how they had been constrained to do so; and at the same time sent him presents. Adem answered him in friendly terms, concluding with these poetical words:—"Raise thyself, Ban, upon fir-branches!* Mow, Ban, as thou hast begun: but take heed that what thou mowest do not suffer by the rain."

Milosch made use of his victories with great moderation.

One of the Bosnian Pachas, Ali, of Niktschitsch, had come over the Drina, before the principal army of the Vizier, and had taken a firm position in the Matschva, near Duplje. Milosch lost not a moment in seeking him out and attacking him there; and so much more confident had he become, that, for the first time he made his onset during the day, instead of in the evening, as had hitherto been his custom. The Turks were utterly routed and put to flight; and the Pacha, being found behind a bush plundered of his turban and shawl, suffered himself to be taken prisoner. Milosch recovered his decorations for him, regaled him with coffee and a pipe in his tent, made him a present of a horse, a fur coat, and five hundred piastres, and dismissed him with permission to join the Vizier. Ali advised him not to enter into alliance with a foreign power; telling him that he would thus remain Prince and Master of the land.

The country might now be considered once more free: at least provisionally so. Milosch had conducted a campaign which would not lose by comparison with any that had ever

* Alluding to the branches grasped by one claw of the eagle in the arms of Servia.

occurred in Servia. The promptitude with which he had appeared at Palesch—his well-arranged position when he opposed the Turks, far superior to him in force, at Ljubitsch—his persevering attack on the entrenchment of Poscharevaz—are worthy of all praise.

Much, however, still remained to be done. Only the forces stationed in the country had been conquered; and not even those, completely; the Servians had not yet recovered the fortresses, the possession of which had, in former times, given them a feeling of independence; and it was certain that the powerful Sultan, who was not engaged with any other enemy, would employ every means in his power to maintain the subjection recently established in the land. Two formidable armies now appeared: one from Roumelia, under Maraschli Ali, in the neighbourhood of Kjupria; the other on the Drina, under the command of the same Churschid who had conquered the Servians in 1813, and who at that time governed Bosnia in the capacity of Vizier.

Had these forces acted with vigour and unanimity, it is probable that Servia would again have been in a state of extreme peril.

Fortunately, the Sultan had reasons for not proceeding to extremities; and, therefore, permitted negotiations for peace to be entered upon.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PERIOD OF PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATIONS.

Servian Deputies coldly received by the Congress at Vienna.—Excitement of the whole Christian Population in Turkey.—The Two Turkish Armies halt on the Servian Frontier, and propose Negotiations.—Interview of Milosch with Churschid Ali.—Maraschli Ali is more favourably disposed towards the Servians.—Conciliatory Reception of Milosch and his Attendants, by the Pacha at Belgrade.—The Servians consent that the Turks shall again garrison the Fortresses.—Purport of Maraschli's Concessions.—Those Concessions not sanctioned by the Divan at Constantinople.—Consequent Disappointment of the Servians.—Renewed Oppression of the Turks.—Milosch is desired by the Pacha to deprive the People of their Arms.—Contentions amongst the Servian Chiefs.—National Assembly at Belgrade.—New Regulations.—Appointment of Moler to be President of the National Assembly.—Quarrel between Milosch and Moler.—Condemnation and Execution of Moler.—Murder of the Servian Bishop, Niktschitsch.—Return of Kara George to Servia.—Turkish Terror of "the Holy Alliance."—Establishment of the Hetæria, in 1816.—Assassination of Kara George, by the order of Milosch, and by the Hand of one of Wuiza's Momkes.—Milosch vindicated from the Charge of having invited Kara George to return.—Resolution of Milosch to become the Head of the State.—Acknowledged as Supreme Knes.—Differences between Turkey and Russia.—Conditions of the Peace of Bucharest, as regarded Servia, not fulfilled.—A Turkish Officer sent, in 1820, to specify the Concessions to be made to the Servians.—Apprehension of an Attempt on the Life of Milosch at Belgrade.—Despatch of a Servian Embassy to Constantinople.—Proposals of the Embassy.—The Members of the Embassy detained as Prisoners at Constantinople.

In consequence of the relations of the Porte with Russia, it was necessary that the Sultan should proceed with caution.

Deputies from the Servian nation had been sent to Vienna during the Congress held in that capital; but they were received with little sympathy; and by many a European embassy—as, for instance, the English—they had been told, with harshness and scorn, to apply to Russia. That power, indeed, upon which alone they had once more solely to rely, soon afterwards called to mind the peace of Bucharest. It has

been stated, that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople inquired of the Sultan—"What war is this now going on in Servia contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty?"

The entire Christian population of the Turkish Empire was at this time in a state of great excitement. The Christians considered the victories of the Allied Powers as so many advantages gained for their own cause. The connexion of these events—which, in the heat of contest, the European Powers had not taken into consideration—had never been lost sight of in Turkey. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, subscriptions had been raised amongst the trading classes of the Christian inhabitants, in several towns of the Ottoman Empire; the object of which was to assist in preventing him from again becoming Emperor.*

This last conflict with the Servians was soon decided. It would have been really dangerous for the Turks, if the expedition of their armies in Servia had, as appeared very probable, encountered severe resistance. If, at the same time, Russia had considered that there were sufficient grounds for taking part with the attacked and oppressed, a general revolt of the subjects of Turkey might have been apprehended.

The two armies which appeared on the frontier of Servia, though superior in number and strength to the Servians, instead of advancing, came to a halt, and offered to make terms.

The question now in agitation, was the same that had been discussed before the breaking out of the war in 1813, as to the interpretation to be given to the Treaty of Bucharest; but all mention of that document was purposely avoided.

The principal inquiry was always—"Whether the arms which the Servians had again taken up were to be left in their possession or not?"

Milosch had still so much confidence in Churschid—who had formerly confirmed him in his dignity of Grand Knes—that he ventured to repair to the Turkish camp. The Delibascha of the Vizier, Ali Aga Sertschesma, at whose feet he had laid down his arms at Takovo, assured him on his word

* Cet emprunt spontané fut ouvert à Janina, à Castoria, à Seres, à Adrianople, et à Constantinople. Pouqueville, Régénération de la Grèce, i. 487.

of honour, that he should not be detained; and gave him an escort. On some of the other points proposed to him, Churschid showed himself willing to yield; but, to the one of most importance—"that the Servians should be allowed to retain their arms"—he would not listen for a moment. Indeed, he demanded their surrender, as an essential preliminary to any negotiation: observing, that "he must send them, in waggons, to Constantinople, for the Sultan to see that there was again a Rayah in Servia."

As Milosch would not assent to such a proposition, it appeared probable that there might be some opposition to his departure; for it was no slight temptation to the Vizier to detain this influential chief; who had hitherto headed the revolt in the country, and would necessarily continue to be its leader. Fortunately, the Delibascha respected his honour and his word. "Fear not, Milosch," said he, "as long as thou seest me and my thousand Delis alive." He carried his point; and the Grand Knes was given into his charge again; and was escorted by him unhurt to Losnitza. "Here," he said, "I received you, on my word of honour; hither I have brought you for the sake of my word. But," he added, "in future, let Milosch trust no one: not even myself, the Delibascha. We have been friends: now we part for ever." The natural antagonism between the Delibascha of a Bosnian Vizier, and a Christian Knes, was too strong for a true friendship to exist between them.

Churschid, who, two years before, as Grand Vizier, had undertaken the war on account of these very differences, could least of all be expected to give way. But the Roumelian Valessi, Maraschli Ali, who was stationed on the other frontier, and seemed to be especially intrusted with the negotiation, expressed himself more favourably: he made no difficulty in withdrawing the stipulation for the surrender of arms. "Only be submissive to the Grand Signior," said he, "and you may carry in your belts as many pistols as you please—cannon, even, for what I care! If it please God," he added, "I, myself, will, perhaps, place you on Arabian horses, and clothe you with sables."

It would almost appear that he meant to grant them precisely the three things which the law expressly forbade

the Rayahs : horses, good clothes, and arms. In this Pacha, therefore, the Servians reposed confidence.

Nevertheless, they were cautious enough not to open the country to him on his mere word. They only permitted his Kiaja to pass, with a small troop, to Belgrade : having been assured that this would be well received at Constantinople, as an indication of their returning obedience. Whilst their deputies, in company with the Commissioners of the Roumelian Valessi, proceeded to the capital, in order to obtain from the Sultan himself a more positive assurance, the two armies remained on the frontiers opposite to each other.

In token of his friendship, Maraschli Ali sent to Milosch the rosary on which he performed his devotions. He also intimated to the Turkish army on the Bosnian frontier, that, as peace was virtually concluded, they should not cross the Drina, since that could tend only to create disturbance. In a comparatively short time—about a month—the representatives of the two parties returned together, with a favourable answer from the Sultan. The Firman of Peace despatched to Ali Pacha, was thus worded :—"That as God had intrusted his subjects to the Sultan, so the Sultan recommended them to the Pacha ; and that, by kind treatment, towards them, he would best perform his duty."

Thus it would appear that the Pacha was left to act according to his own judgment ; since this document only specified that the Porte was not averse to the fulfilment of the promises made by the Pacha.

The Servians now, therefore, allowed the Pacha to proceed to Belgrade with his army ; and thither, after some delay, their own chieftains also repaired. Milosch and his companions were received in an assembly of more than fifty Bimbaschas, Ayanes, and Begs ; who were seated in silence on the ground, smoking their pipes. The Pacha arose and asked :—"Are ye Servians subject to the Grand Signior ?" Milosch answered :—"We are subject to him." The question and answer were repeated thrice.

Whereupon the Servians were honoured with the presentation of coffee and pipes ; the Turks deeming it important that their readiness to fulfil the Treaty should be attested by some ceremonial act.

The Turks now garrisoned the fortresses of the country: having obtained the consent of the Servians, who again acknowledged their former state of dependence. It was understood, however, that this regulation should be enforced in such a manner as to render it supportable; and that, above all, the ancient domination, founded on the privileges of Islamism, would not again be granted to the garrisons.

Maraschli Ali's concessions embraced two principal points. He left it to the Servians themselves to collect the imposts, which were in other respects re-established on the old footing—under his predecessors, the Turks had not only allowed this, but had even permitted the Servians to participate in the administration of justice. In the provincial towns, the Musellims were not to possess the right of passing judgment upon the Servians, without the consent of the Kneses: not even in their litigations with the Turks; much less, in their disputes with one another.

In order to carry these regulations into effect, a national Chancery Court, on the model of the old Senate, was established at Belgrade, to assist the Pacha; with the double purpose of receiving from the Kneses the collected imposts and delivering them to the Pacha. At the same time it constituted the Supreme Court of Justice; and the Pacha promised to carry out its judgments. Unquestionably this was a great advantage; as the Chancery again afforded to the people a sort of representation. Still, however, many of the most important questions remained unsettled. The relations of the two populations, with reference to personal property, had not been even touched upon; and the Servians lost no time in sending delegates to the court of the Sultan, to obtain regulations more satisfactory and comprehensive. They bore in mind Peter Itschko's proposal of peace, and hoped now to obtain its confirmation.

But the authorities at Constantinople were far from being willing to promote such views. The Divan would not even give a positive answer, but referred the deputies to the Pacha; who, they said, was acquainted with the wishes of the Grand Signior. The Pacha, however, expressed much astonishment, and declared that he had received no instructions whatever.

Thus, instead of obtaining an extension of their rights, the delegates returned without even a confirmation of

those which had already been granted; the maintenance and due execution of which depended rather on the personal presence of the Pacha, by whom the concessions had been granted. When he once prepared to quit the country, the chiefs declared that in case he did so they also should be compelled to leave it: a declaration which induced him to remain.

The Servians, however, soon began to fear that even the Pacha did not intend to keep his word.

Maraschli Ali, who had, in the last Turco-Russian war, served as Delibascha, afterwards held, as Pacha of Boli in Asia, a district which under Tschapan Oglu, enjoyed a certain degree of independence. After seeming, at first, to yield to the wishes of the inhabitants, he in the end succeeded, without exciting much attention, in leading them back to complete obedience to the Sultan. Something of this nature, it appeared, he was now seeking to accomplish in Servia: indeed it is reported that he himself expressed such an intention.

The agreement into which he had entered was not very conscientiously observed. The Turkish Musellims frequently proceeded to inflict corporal punishment without waiting for the sentence of the Kneses; and upon one occasion, the Pacha himself allowed an execution to take place without any legal sentence.

The haughty insolence of the Ottomans displayed itself in the rudest and most offensive conduct: a Deli was seen walking through the streets of Belgrade, calling his dogs by the names of the Servian chiefs—Vuitza, Milosch, &c.

What chiefly restrained the Turks was, without doubt, the fact that the Servians kept themselves always armed. This privilege had been granted by Maraschli Ali himself; but, as soon became apparent, only in the hope of depriving them of their arms by degrees. Milosch, who frequently met the Pacha at Belgrade, dining with him at his house, or accompanying him on his rides, was at length desired, in plain terms, to deprive the people of their arms. Milosch answered, that "he himself and his friends, and even the Kneses, were ready to deliver up theirs; but it was beyond their power to take them from the people."

Under these circumstances, it was not to be expected that the Turkish government—either the supreme authority at

Constantinople, or that of the Pacha at Belgrade—would, of its own accord, regulate the affairs of the Servians to their satisfaction.

At this period there arose, amongst the Servians themselves, a strong native power—a power of a very barbarous nature, it must be acknowledged, yet thoroughly imbued with the principle of nationality,—opposing a gradual resistance to the Ottoman Government: this was the power of Milosch.

Milosch, it is true, was an officer of the Turks: he had been appointed Grand Knes of certain districts by a Vizier, and afterwards confirmed in this dignity; but he was also the originator and leader of the insurrection, to which the country was indebted for all the security it enjoyed. He had rendered most important services in all the districts; and had also acquired, by the war itself, an authority and influence which embraced the whole Pachalic.

But other chiefs who appeared in the field raised claims of independence against Milosch. John Dobratscha, who had come to his assistance at a critical moment, refused to receive commands from him: alleging that he was as much a Knes as Milosch himself. Milosch, however, dismissed him, and appointed another in his place; and the whole matter was settled by obedience being rendered, throughout the district, to the Knes appointed by Milosch.

Milosch had not, like Kara George, to contend entirely with independent chiefs, powerful in separate districts, and possessing a certain degree of right to share the supreme authority with him. None but Vuitza could have advanced claims of this nature; and he was, already, actually addressed as Gospodar, and, for a long time, was mentioned by name in the Church prayers: he kept quiet, however, in his district of Smederevo. The rivals of the Grand Knes were of a different kind,

So far as the change of circumstances would allow, the National Assembly at Belgrade might be compared with the Old Senate. The highest authority was in the hands of one who might well excite jealousy: that nephew of the Archimandrite Ruvim, upon whom he once rested his hopes of escape, from the circumstance of his working in the house of a Dahi as a painter, which profession obtained for him the

cognomen of *Moler*. Peter Moler had, at a later period, taken up arms, as every one else had done. In former campaigns he had occasionally distinguished himself; but, in the last, after the occurrences at Palesch, he had rendered important services. Moler, perhaps before any one else, had conceived an idea of the institutions generally deemed essential to good order; and had expressed an opinion that the country should be divided amongst four chiefs, not one of whom could say that he was the lord of the rest. Milosch, however, had avoided having anything to do with the scheme; saying, very truly, "The hare you want to divide is still running in the wood."

But when, according to an agreement entered upon, a new regulation was actually made, Moler was well provided for; though in a manner different from what he had designed. He was made President of the National Chancery: a station for which he was better qualified than any other person, as he spoke the Turkish language and could write the Servian. In this post he made himself comfortable in his own way. Undisturbed by any feeling of religion—at which he altogether scoffed—he had living with him a young woman who was not his wife. He was fond of having his friends about him, and his extravagance gave rise to the suspicion that he appropriated to his own use the money that came into his hands. After a time, Milosch—who was jealous of him on other accounts—ceased to send him the money collected in his own districts; and sent it to Dmitri, his confidential Chasnadar, for direct transmission to the Pacha. Moler, annoyed that another should be preferred to him—especially a foreigner—complained on the subject to such of the Kneses as were his friends, and gained over to his side some of those from the upper districts. But a far greater number, from the Schumadia and the further side of the Morava, took part with Milosch in this affair. When they met for the Skupschtina at Belgrade in the spring of the year 1816, a large number of Kneses one day held a preliminary conference; at which a dispute arose between Moler and Milosch. At length Moler broke out with the exclamation, "Milosch, thou liest!"—On this Milosch said, "Brethren, up to this time I have been your chief; henceforth Moler is so."—But the Kneses of the party of Milosch, and the Momkes who fol-

lowed them, had already laid hands upon Moler; whilst the adherents of that chief, each apprehensive for his own safety, refrained from interfering. Moler was bound and delivered over to the Pacha; and the Kneses present signed a petition to the Pacha for him to be put to death; which the Pacha considered as a sentence he was bound to execute.

Thus perished the first President of the Servian National Chancery, through, what was, to use the mildest terms, a very tumultuous proceeding. At his funeral, one of his relations, with tears in his eyes, asked a bystander whether he thought such things were right. "Yes," was the reply, "if you are a people amongst whom such things can occur." The same relation, however, though himself a chief, had not sufficient courage to oppose, with energy, the petition for Moler's death.

The Bishop Niktschitsch, who was offended at the impiety of Moler, was also amongst those who had signed the petition; but alas! he was himself soon to experience a similar fate.

Niktschitsch was at this time a Servian Bishop: he was not, however, a Greek; but had been a Monk of Studenitza, and afterwards Archimandrite under Czerni George. He had gone with an embassy to Constantinople, and had returned a Bishop; since which he had evinced such a degree of pride as had brought him into universal disrepute. As he rode along equipped with his busdowan and sword, he considered himself of greater importance than any one else in the country. He spoke contemptuously of the Kneses, of whom he said he could himself make twenty; and avoided addressing Milosch as Gospodar. Towards the Priests he conducted himself in a domineering and tyrannical manner; and it was thought that he aimed at investing himself with an authority such as the Vladika enjoys in Montenegro. His ambition, however, was only personal, and not national. He expressed to the Pacha his belief that it was by no means impossible to deprive the Servians of their arms, if Milosch only wished it; and he had been heard to utter a similar opinion among the people. Thus he excited suspicion, hatred, and apprehension. Whilst on a diocesan journey, in June, 1816, he was murdered: it was reported by robbers; but every one knew that it was the result of a plot.

This was a state of things in which little regard was shown for a sense of right, or the principles of justice; craft and violence seemed to constitute the essential elements of authority; scarcely any pains were taken to save appearances; and life was held of little value.

Even the former Commander-in-Chief of the Servians, Kara George, had to expiate, by a dreadful death, his return to the country of which he had been the liberator.

The circumstances were these: it has been already noticed how powerfully the great change in the affairs of the whole of Europe operated on the entire population of the Turkish Empire. The Turks were terrified at the very name of the Holy Alliance, as though it were especially dangerous to them; and the hopes of the Rayahs, in all the provinces, rose in proportion. An assurance that it was not intended by the Allied powers to interfere with the relations of the East, sufficed not to appease this movement; which assumed the form of a secret league. The Hetæria was founded; the members of which swore to fight, harass, and persecute the enemies of their faith and fatherland, until they should all be annihilated.

In the year 1816, the Hetæria was established in Odessa, Bucharest, and even in Constantinople; and already had one of its delegates endeavoured to win over the Beg of Maina, by holding forth the illusive hope of a dominion over the whole Morea.* It was the intention of this league to excite an insurrection, as early and as extensively as possible. And since Servia, however well prepared for a new revolt, appeared again doomed to Turkish rule, we can hardly condemn the design formed by the Hetæria of commencing the general insurrection here.† To enable them to realize their anticipations, they engaged the victorious Commander-in-Chief of the Servians, Kara George; who had left his country only in the hope of returning thither under more auspicious circumstances. He had received pressing letters from Servia, assuring him that the people longed for his re-appearance

* Gordon's History of the Greek Revolution, i. p. 27.

† According to an authority not wholly unworthy of credit, (quoted by Blacquiere, chap. ii.), their design was to allure the Turkish force into Servia, where a powerful nation would offer effectual resistance, and by these means facilitate the rise of the Christian subjects in other provinces.

amongst them; and he was not reluctant to accept the invitation. Without a passport, and concealed amongst the attendants of a member of the Hetæria who was on his way to the baths of Mehadia, Kara George came from Bessarabia, which had afforded him a refuge, to the Servian frontier. By a handsome present, the ferryman was induced to carry him across the river; and he hastened to Smederevo, to Vuitza, by whom he had been expressly invited. Here he spoke only of a new revolution; pledging himself that an insurrection of the same character would simultaneously burst forth in the Morea: and moreover that Servia would receive far more powerful assistance than on former occasions. He even requested Milosch to join with him, and to renew the war without delay.

But it was not in accordance with the views of Milosch to join in a movement, the result of which rested on combinations so uncertain. Besides, he had no wish for the restoration of the Commander-in-Chief's authority, with which his own could not, for one moment, co-exist. He, therefore, did not hesitate to send news of Kara George's presence to the Pacha; who, in return, indicated the danger that would attend the renewal of revolutionary measures; and stating that, in such a case, the Grand Signior would undoubtedly send a fresh army into the country, and withdraw the concessions already made, he concluded with desiring Milosch to bring him the head of Kara George.

Milosch accordingly sent the following laconic message to Vuitza:—"Either the head of the Black George, or thine own!" A few days afterwards he reiterated this command.

Kara George soon perceived how matters stood, and into what danger he had thrust himself: there was no escape for him, and mercy was not to be hoped for. He was murdered by one of Vuitza's Momkes, one day, when, after long and painful watching, he had fallen asleep.

How much better for Servia and—since even the mode of death is of some importance—how far less humiliating for himself, had he, ere this, fallen sword in hand, in the Servian entrenchments, fighting against the Turks! Now he was slain at the instigation of the Turks, by his own countrymen: one of the first victims of the new movements which were about to take place in Europe.

Milosch has been accused of himself sending an invitation to Kara George to return to Servia, in order to rid himself of his dreaded rival; but this accusation is certainly unfounded. Kara George was too much admired and beloved: his renown had even increased by his temporary absence; and the condition of Servia was much too unsettled for Milosch to have ventured to allure him into the country at so great a risk. The Pacha would hardly believe that the head produced before him was that of Kara George; but when assured by the inhabitants of Belgrade that it was, he sent it to the Sultan; by whom it was received with as much satisfaction as the head of any other rebel or adversary.

As regarded Servia, however, the result did not prove so great or so decisive as the Sultan was led to believe.

Milosch, thus freed from all who could have opposed his influence,—from his spiritual and administrative rivals, and also from the former Commander-in-Chief,—now resolved to become the head of the nation.

In November, 1817, he was acknowledged supreme Knes (Werhowni Knes) by all the Kneses of the country. The metropolitans of Belgrade and Uschize, Agathangel and Gerasim, both of them Greeks, and three Servian Archimandrites, were present, and assisted at this nomination. It was even settled that, after his death, his next relations should succeed him.

The position which Milosch Obrenovitsch now occupied was strangely equivocal.

His authority was partly derived from the Ottoman government; and in the midst of his rebellion, he had come forward as an imperial Knes. Since then the Turkish government had leased out to him the crown demesnes, and—as elsewhere granted to a Pacha—the impost of Haradsch, besides other imposts of minor importance; also the right of ferrying over the Save and the Danube, as well as the Morava and the Kolubara, with all the customs he had appropriated to himself. He was, moreover, appointed Basergjanbaschi at Belgrade. All this procured him riches and authority; and thus he became the most influential man in the country; no one being able to compete with him. It must not be forgotten, also, that he had effected the re-

deliverance of the people, and that he now became their Chief by their own election; whilst by zealously taking care of their interests, prospects of increasing advantage were daily opened to him.

When it was no longer doubtful that the affairs of Europe were to be arranged by a peace, and when the relations of the great powers had been so far strengthened that the army of occupation could be withdrawn from France, the concerns of the East again became of prominent importance; and amongst them, the differences still pending between Russia and Turkey, despite of the peace of Bucharest.

It could not be said, as we have shown, that the conditions of the peace, as regarded Servia, had been fulfilled: in fact, it had not, hitherto, been possible to bring the Porte to a definitive arrangement.

At length however, in the year 1820, the authorities of Constantinople conceived that it would be necessary to have a settlement of this business; especially that they might not be further exposed to the unceasing demands of Russia. The Servians wished, above all things, that a Plenipotentiary should be sent to them, who would take cognisance of the state of their affairs, and through whom a negotiation might be opened. But at Constantinople, even then, it was judged more desirable to avoid discussion; and one of the Chodschagars (officers of the Reis Effendi) was immediately sent with a Firman, specifying such concessions as would be made to the Servians.

These were by no means unimportant. In order to render the administration and jurisdiction of Servia still more independent of the Porte, a certain sum of money was demanded, which the country was bound to pay in future, without any further stipulations regarding the mode of its collection. The authority of the Musellims was to be restricted to the fortresses; and no objection was made to the acknowledgment of Milosch as Grand Knes of the whole Servian nation.

But favourable as this appeared, there were yet some points left unnoticed; particularly as regarded the Spahis, who lived in the fortresses, and claimed the rights of landlords over the villages; and some demands were set forth, to which the Servians entertained a strong antipathy. The

Servians were to remain imperial Rayahs, as their forefathers had been; and they were bound, according to old custom, to provide for the imperial army whenever it might happen to pass through the country: above all, they were to affirm that they were content with what had been granted—for it was a great point to prevent their ever laying claim to further assistance from Russia; and they were required formally to promise, that they would never again demand anything more from the Grand Signior.

The Servians, who had obtained at least a partial knowledge of the contents of the Firman, did not require much consideration to decide whether they should accept or reject these proposals.

Their former glorious warlike exploits; the promises of the peace of Bucharest; and the general movement amongst the Christian population of the Empire, which was still daily increasing, led them to entertain very different expectations.

The Ottomans, who thought that they had conceded much, were enraged at perceiving the dissatisfaction of the Servians.

When Milosch left Kragujevaz, where he was at the time residing, to proceed to Belgrade, for the purpose of hearing the Firman read in due form, he was warned of the danger in which he would place himself. It was asserted that the Pacha had falsely informed the Spahis, that it was the intention of Milosch to re-stipulate for the conditions of peace formerly proposed by Peter Itscho, and to drive the Spahis from the country; and that they had in consequence provided themselves with powder and shot, to rid themselves of such an enemy, so soon as he should enter the gates of Belgrade. The friends of Milosch affirm, that, if he had gone thither, he would certainly have experienced the fate of Deli-Achmet, whom Ebu-Bekir had ordered to be shot.

Milosch relinquished his design of going to Belgrade alone; but he assembled a considerable number of Servians around him, and declared that he would enter only if accompanied by them. The Pacha refused to receive him so attended; sending him word, that he was to present himself with twelve Kneses, unarmed, and not with such an army: for whom he knew not who could provide. Milosch replied, that he came only with peaceful followers, to hear the imperial

Firman read: they were the same who had provided for the Pacha and his attendants at Belgrade, and for him at Kragujevaz, and they would undertake to provide for themselves; but they would not suffer him to proceed alone to Belgrade. The Pacha, however, could not be induced to open the gates, neither would the Servians yield. At length it was arranged between the Chodscha and the Grand Knes, that a meeting should take place at Toptschider, at the distance of a mile from Belgrade.

But what could be expected from a negotiation conducted under such manifestations of mutual distrust and animosity.

In Toptschider, the Servians declared that "they would not be debarred from again having recourse to the grace of their Masters." The Chodscha asked, "What could be their further request?" Their reply was, "that they demanded their rights, granted them by the Peace of Bucharest." This was the first time, since the year 1813, that the Servians had expressly referred to that treaty. To mention a treaty concluded with a foreign power appeared to the Chodscha nothing short of a crime; he therefore called for his horses, and instantly rode off. He always affirmed that there were no longer Rayahs in Servia; that he had seen none but armed people there; and he went back through the Austrian territory and Wallachia, as though he would not risk the danger of travelling through Servia.

Thus the opposition which had originally separated the two parties again sprang up: it comprehended the claim of the Spahis to maintain their manor, and the claim of the Servians to wear arms.

From that moment no amicable feeling could exist between the antagonist parties. The Servians, at least, considered the treaty in which the Pacha had personally been associated with them as cancelled, and they ceased to obey him. New negotiations were nevertheless carried on at Constantinople.

The Porte expressed itself in mild terms; to the effect, that, if the Servians would be less pertinacious on certain points, the Turks would concede something more in their favour; and it was required, that persons of authority should be sent to the seat of Government, by which so much writing to and fro might be spared.

It was, in consequence, decided in Servia, that the demands of the nation should be more explicitly stated than hitherto; and numerous deputies were empowered to plead the cause of the Servians.

This deputation consisted of two of the Clergy, the Archimandrite Samuel, and the Arch-Priest Vukaschinovitsch, of Jagodina; and three Kneses, Vuitza, Ilia Markovitsch, and Dmitri. Abraham Petronjevitsch was appointed Secretary.

The substance of their demands was a confirmation of their internal independence; and an extension of this privilege to all the districts beyond the Province of Belgrade, which had, for the most part, been conquered under Kara George. That the Servians should possess an independent jurisdiction, both in returning verdicts and in carrying them into effect. That they should elect their own magistrates;* and be allowed to build churches, hospitals, and schools, without asking permission, and especially, that they should live entirely separated from the Turks. It was not their desire that the Spahis should be actually expelled from the country; but that their rights should be bought off by an annual rent; and that the said rent should be added to the tribute in fixed sums, and the aggregate be received in lieu of all the taxes hitherto paid.

The Treaty of Bucharest was thus interpreted by the Servians, in the same manner that it had formerly been interpreted by Kara George himself.

That no doubt might be left respecting the countries beyond the Pachalic which should enjoy the same independence of interior administration, they were specified, as six separate districts.

The miniature monarchy, as it had existed in 1811 and 1812, was to be re-established—not indeed, as it had been sometimes hoped, with extended privileges; but, in some degree, under Turkish supremacy, although allowed a large share of internal administration.

It could hardly be expected that the Porte would be very willing to accede to demands of this nature. They were

* It is thus stated in the documents which were published at a later period. In the country it was never understood otherwise, than, that the confirmation of the already chosen Werhowni Knes had been distinctly solicited.

accompanied by threatening symptoms of a general rising of the Christian population throughout the Empire, which induced the Sultan to put the Servian Deputies under arrest. The Servians had not much need for apprehension at this act; for it was generally felt that one day or another, such proceedings would not fail to call forth the sympathy of Europe.

Milosch now withdrew his credentials from the Delegates, who were kept prisoners; and devoted his whole attention to the task of bringing the country into good order, and more firmly establishing his own power.

CHAPTER XIX.

INSTITUTIONS AND RULE OF MILOSCH.

Courts of Justice.—The Kneses.—Disagreements between them and Milosch.—He obtains the Control over them.—Revolt and Death of Gjurovitsch and Rathovitsch.—General Outbreak.—Failure of the Troops under Jovan.—Demands of the People.—Miloje Djak.—He places himself at the Head of the Revolt.—His Successes.—He is encountered by Vutschitsch and defeated.—Movements of the Tscharapitches.—Increased Power and Authority of Milosch.

It was of infinite advantage to Milosch that the principles upon which a free Servian Commonwealth could be based were already prepared. That he should commence anew was unnecessary: it would be sufficient for him to re-establish matters upon the same footing that they were at the time of the first emancipation under Kara George.

This was especially the case as regarded jurisdiction: the acts of violence of which the Turks had been guilty in the administration of justice having been a principal cause of the preceding disturbances; and the present rupture with the former Pacha having been induced by disputing the power which, in the former treaty, had been conceded to his Mussellims.

Courts with different degrees of jurisdiction were introduced.

The Village Court consisted of the Elder of the place and the rest of the Kmetes, and was principally charged with preserving order: in civil suits, it was restricted to the settlement of disputes by compromise.

They who chose not to abide by the decision of this Court might refer to one of the district town Courts; to which Magistrates were appointed, as they had been under Kara George. These Courts were composed each of a President, two Members, and a Secretary; who, of course, were not learned men; but who gave their verdicts according to the custom of the country, and to the best of their knowledge. Complicated cases, in affairs of trade, for instance, were usually brought before the most experienced and most respectable individuals of the same calling; and as they were generally found very judicious and intelligent, their opinion was, on most occasions, accepted as decisive.

Others, who would not consent to act in accordance with such decisions, went before the Supreme Court of Justice; the same as that which under Kara George was called *Sowiet*, and which, since 1815, had formed a national Court of Chancery.

When it is considered how such affairs had formerly been allowed to proceed—that the Gospodars and Voivodes had exercised the real power, and that the new movement had originated in a warlike rising under single leaders—it will be readily understood that the judicial power had not enjoyed much real independence.

It is true there were now Kneses at the head of the districts; but in reality they were successors of Voivodes, and military Commanders.

The Kneses executed the judgments of the district Courts; but maintaining their superiority over them, they in general paid them but little attention. Milosch considered himself head of the Supreme Court, which followed him whenever he changed his residence; and it was not until the year 1825 that the same Court was established in an improved form at Kragujevaz. Milosch also reserved to himself the right of pronouncing sentence of death: his brother Jephrem being the only one to whom a similar power was granted, in the districts of Schabaz and Valjevo.

As the National or Supreme Court was the continuation

of the old Senate, people never ceased to regard it as possessing the right of assisting in the administration of the government. But the exercise of this right was not assumed: Milosch did not consider it necessary to seek counsel, or to ask advice in his administration.

At first it appeared likely that he would at least respect the Kneses. Such as were of distinction amongst them, he treated as his equals: addressed them as "Lords," presented them with pipes when they visited him, and expressed himself satisfied with whatever they thought proper to do in their own districts.

When they brought him Poresa and Haradsch, which were rated according to the number of households and of persons, he did not much inquire whether the sum they delivered to him corresponded with that number; nor did he seem to grudge the profit which they probably appropriated to themselves.

After a time, however, a misunderstanding arose between the two parties, on this very point. Milosch had, as it is known, leased the Haradsch: and he was not always satisfied with the irregular or arbitrary returns. He at length sent his own people, with Momkes, into the respective districts, to make out correct registers. The Kneses regarded with apprehension this interference with their office; but their complaints on the subject, to one of Milosch's most confidential officers, were in vain: they were answered, "His Highness did not receive advice in affairs of that nature."

The twofold power which had been given to Milosch rendered him more and more independent. Against the Turks he vindicated the rights of the nation, whose President he was considered; against the native chiefs he maintained the prerogatives with which he had been invested by the Turkish government. Since the Peace of Bucharest, a combination of the two powers had been a sort of political necessity; but was this to be upheld exclusively for his own individual interest?

In the spring of 1821, Milosch had again to encounter resistance; and from both parties. Two of the most distinguished Kneses from the further side of the Morava—Mark Abdula and Stephen Dobrinjaz—having, during their sojourn

at Belgrade, formed an alliance with the Pacha (who promised to acknowledge them as independent Kneses), and with the Spahis, they declared, openly, that they would no longer receive commands from Milosch. Milosch, however, knew how to deal with them. He promptly ordered troops to advance towards their districts, and their destruction was inevitable unless they could receive assistance from the Pacha of Belgrade. Maraschli Ali despatched a body of troops into the neighbourhood, under the pretext of wishing to assist in suppressing the insurrection; but Milosch answered him:—"that he knew these people best, and understood how to treat them; and unless the Pacha were desirous of seeing the whole country in rebellion, he had better not meddle with these affairs."

This was at the time when the disturbances of the Hetæria broke out in Wallachia, and occasioned a general movement. The Pacha was alarmed lest the Servians would join Ypsilanti, and consequently recalled his troops; whereupon the Kneses, and all their adherents, were put down without further trouble. One of them—Topalevitz, Knes at Gruscha—who thought he had compromised himself by a letter, feigned insanity, and fled out of the country. Milosch appointed Vutschitsch his successor.

Under these circumstances, the Kneses began gradually to accustom themselves to subordination and obedience, and to acknowledge in Milosch—whom they had formerly regarded as their equal—a superior. Milosch not only appointed them, but he had also the right to dismiss them: he gave them a salary, and reserved to himself the power of increasing it, at discretion. By degrees he became reluctant to style them Kneses, and preferred calling them Sirdars or Captains: in fact their functions were those of military men or police: they were all his officers.

As they, on their part, made their inferiors feel the severe authority which they themselves were under, the natural result was that the lower classes should once more rise: particularly as they were not restrained by habitual obedience.

The authority of Milosch could scarcely be considered dissimilar to that of a Pacha: he collected the imposts with at least equal severity, and to precisely the same amount, as

they had always been paid under the domination of the Turks. And the Kneses also, in the manner they now conducted themselves, resembled the Musellims: they were guilty of the same outrages; and to severe exactions, they added personal coercion.

When the peasants reflected upon what was demanded of them, and upon the manner in which they were treated, they found that they had gained but little by all their efforts, and by so many bloody engagements. Perhaps they endured the power exercised over them with yet stronger aversion, since those by whom it was exerted had been only a short time before their equals.

Towards the end of the year 1824, two peasants of the district of Rudnik, named Gjurovitsch and Ratkovitsch, came forward with complaints against the Kneses, and against Milosch. Whether they had individually been wronged, or were desirous of being themselves made Kneses, is not precisely known; but it is certain that they showed extreme dissatisfaction, and endeavoured to excite a rebellion. However, in their district, the native country of Milosch, they met with little sympathy. The very first person whom they addressed, with the view of gaining him over, denounced their design. Ratkovitsch was consequently seized, and brought to Kragujevaz, to take his trial before the Supreme Court. The barbarous state of the country, and the light estimation in which human life was held there, are proved by the circumstance that a Momke to whose charge the prisoner had been intrusted, with orders to guard him as safely as possible, thought the best mode of accomplishing this was by shooting him! Gjurovitsch also was brought to Kragujevaz, and examined, under torture, as to whether he had any other accomplices? His answer was "even were I to betray my companions, I should not by that means be enabled to purchase my own life." He died upon the rack, in the most dreadful agonies.

Milosch and his Kneses now watched every movement with redoubled vigilance.

When, in the beginning of the year 1825, the Knes of Smederevo, Peter Vulitschevitsch, heard of a peasant who was said to have been connected with those who had perished, and to be still harbouring the same design, he went without

delay into the village where he lived, for the purpose of seizing him. He had him arrested by his Momkes, at night, and brought into the house where he had taken up his residence.

He indulged in the hope of thus crushing the rebellion in its germ; but it proved, on the contrary, the cause of an immediate outbreak.

At that very place the peasants rose; exasperated by the violent proceedings of Vulitschevitsch, who had taken one of their number from his house by night, instead of demanding him from the community as he ought to have done—"just as robbers do," they said. They appeared in arms before the dwelling of the Knes, and forced him to give up his prisoner.

Scarcely had Vulitschevitsch returned to Asanja, his usual place of abode, when a movement against him commenced there also; which assumed the appearance of a general rising. The peasants of Asanja, and of several neighbouring districts, complained loudly against the whole body of the Kneses, and rose in open rebellion.

Milosch lost no time in sending an armed troop to Asanja, with the people of Jasenitza and Lepenitza, under the command of his younger brother, Jovan. This act, however, only increased the evil. The men whom Jovan led on made common cause with those against whom he was to fight; and Jovan, in consequence, found himself in so alarming a predicament, that he offered to negotiate. To some of the demands of the rebels he acceded, though not unconditionally; for he was not authorised, otherwise than provisionally, and subject to the consent of his brother: who, as he said, was his master. The peasants demanded, above all, the dismissal of Vulitschevitsch from his office; which they desired to have conferred on the very person who, in all probability, had been the chief author of the whole insurrection. This was a certain Miloie Djak; who, however, bore his clerical surname only from having been educated by a clergyman, with a view to his adoption of the sacred profession. Such an intention he had long since relinquished; and having acted as secretary to Kara George, he now pursued the most lucrative calling in Servia—that of a swine-dealer. While travelling through the country in this capacity, he became acquainted with

many opulent peasants; on which occasions, he usually entered into discussions respecting the general affairs of the state; and he had thus obtained, far and near, a high reputation.

Jovan, as already stated, gave his conditional consent that Miloie should fill the situation proposed; and certainly it would have been an important advantage for the peasants, could they have enforced the nomination of a Knes. But the Djak was too well acquainted with the state of affairs in Servia, not to feel the uncertainty of such an appointment. Nor did the situation of a Knes, under its customary relations, suffice for his ambition. Declaring that it was Jovan's intention only to deceive the people, Miloie no sooner made his appearance at Hassan Passina Palanka, than he raised the standard of rebellion against Milosch and his government. From all quarters people hastened towards him. They complained principally of the haughtiness of the Kneses,—who were not satisfied with the treatment they met with from the peasantry on their official journeys through the villages; of the ill-usage they themselves encountered from them, just as they had done from the Turks; and of their being compelled even to perform bond-service. Some there were who brought forward matters of more general importance; particularly the impost of the Poresa, which they considered as far too heavy, and, indeed, insupportable.

Determined on overturning such a government, the peasants moved forward in two separate bodies: one towards Poscharevaz, against Jovan, who fled before them; the other directly towards Kragujevaz, the seat of government. The latter division was led on by the Djak himself; it increased in numbers at every step, and plundered the dwellings of the Kneses of Jasenitza and Lepenitza, who also had made themselves obnoxious. The first troops whom Milosch sent against them—a company of Momkes—were defeated, and the men were obliged to return to Kragujevaz without their horses. Many persons in that town already felt ill at ease; and even Milosch seemed to waver in his determination. However, he received timely assistance from Jagodina, Poschega, and Uschize; and Vutschitsch especially—whom a short time previously he had appointed Knes of Gruscha—

showed himself resolute in his determination to support him. When Vutschitsch inquired of the discomfited Momkes "where they had left their horses," their answer was, "We shall see where yours will be to-morrow." To them the approaching multitude seemed irresistible.

But Vutschitsch persisted in his opinion, that they ought not, like women, to wait for the attack of their opponents. Appointed commander by Milosch, provided with money, and promised every support,—for which, indeed, immediate preparations were made,—Vutschitsch advanced with a considerable force against the rebels, who were encamped near Topola. He fortified the opposite height, and next morning began the attack.

It was a fortunate event for the assailants, that the Djak was wounded at the very commencement, and was obliged to be carried off the field. Deprived of their leader—at whose call they had assembled, and by whose influence alone they had been kept together—the rebels, incapable of further resistance, were dispersed.

The victors threw themselves upon the villages where the insurrection had originated, or through which it had spread, and committed the same atrocities that the Turks had been accustomed to commit on similar occasions.

It was one of the most fortunate incidents in the career of Milosch, that this rebellion was so speedily and decisively terminated.

A similar movement had commenced in the district of Belgrade, where it would necessarily have proved more dangerous to him; as two members of an eminent family, the sons of Mark Tscharapitsch (who had first acquired distinction with Kara George), were about to place themselves at its head. When, however, they heard of the ill fortune which their party had encountered at Topola, they despaired of effecting any beneficial change; and to secure their personal safety they passed over to Panschova, on the Austrian territory.

There, it is true, they soon gained fresh courage. Not having that thorough knowledge of the position of affairs which is possessed by those residing in a country, and being exposed to the delusions which emigrants are ever ready to adopt, they imagined that, if they returned, they should be

enabled, by the influence of their name, again to excite general dissatisfaction. They hoped to commence a revolution, not only against Milosch and the Kneses, but also against the Turks; and expected to achieve something important. Some schoolmasters of Belgrade—who, however, were not natives of the country—drew up a proclamation for them, in which, if we are correctly informed (for the paper itself appears to have been lost), a reward was offered for the head of Milosch, and one of far greater amount for that of Vutschitsch.

In order to commence the movement, the brothers Tscharapitsch, with their personal adherents, repaired to the forest of Avala. But the terror inspired by the defeat of Topola was still fresh in the minds of the peasants; and the proclamation produced not the slightest effect. The rebels were sought for in the forest, as though they had been robbers, by some Kneses and their Momkes, and at length were found in one of the mountain hollows. Well knowing that their lives would not be spared, they defended themselves with the courage of despair, and all perished! the authors of the proclamation were shockingly mutilated.

Thus were suppressed these insurrections: the object of which was, through the mass of the populace,—or, more properly speaking, the peasantry,—to cast off the entire government of Milosch.

But, subdued as they were, the people were still conscious of their own strength. The Kmetes exclaimed, that "this time Milosch had overpowered them; but another time the result might probably be different."

For a moment, indeed, the government judged it advisable to pay some attention to the condition of the peasants. Vulitschitsch was dismissed; and the Kneses of Jasenitza and Lepenitza, against whom the rage of the people had been particularly directed, were not reinstated in their appointments. Besides the personal complaints of the peasants, there were certain questions regarding property. These also were redressed; and many points, on which the people were evidently right, were conceded. Although the originators of the insurrection were at first obliged to be left unpunished, vengeance overtook them in one way or another at a later period.

Upon the whole, it is evident that the system which had been established, was further strengthened by the suppression of these rebellious movements.

The Kneses—military commanders of the nation which they knew how to hold in subjection—had on their part to render implicit obedience to their supreme leader, Milosch; who now exercised an almost absolute dominion in the country.

If it be inquired how such an authority could, at this period, be maintained in Servia, the answer is—that notwithstanding the manifold discontents of the people, their minds were subdued to obedience by the state of affairs.

The old possessors of military power and sovereign rule were still in the country, and in command of the fortresses; and there was no binding treaty between the parties. A few years after Maraschli Ali died, disappointed at not having proved equally successful in Europe and in Asia; there was not even the word of a Pacha to prevent the Turks from re-establishing themselves in full possession on the first opportunity that might offer; and they still considered the Servians under obligations to perform menial services as formerly. The only means the Servians had of maintaining their independence, the enjoyment of which they had acquired by their own efforts, was by a strong military organisation—by holding firmly together under the chief who had led them during the last few years, and whom they had solemnly acknowledged as the head of the nation; for every breach of peace that disturbed this internal unity, threatened at the same time their political existence.

Whatever misguided peasants might say, whose notions were limited to objects immediately around them, it was clear that the indisputable preference for the authority of Milosch, arose from the nationality of the people forcibly representing the idea of their liberation from the Ottomans, which completely engrossed their minds. It was perfectly in accordance with the feeling of the people, that Milosch possessed himself of the rights which he had claimed, before they had been actually granted. Amongst other things, he built a number of churches, without asking permission of the Pacha, or of the Grand Signior; a proceeding which gratified the religious feeling of the people. This national

sympathy enabled him to preserve an authority, otherwise only of a temporary character.

At length, however, times changed. Events occurred which, whilst they influenced Turkey, produced a general re-action upon Servia, and freed it from the uncertainty of its condition.

CHAPTER XX.

SETTLEMENT OF SERVIAN AFFAIRS.

Influence of the Greek Revolution on Servian Affairs.—The Rule of Milosch acceptable to the Grand Signior.—The attention of Europe is directed towards the East.—Russia demands the Fulfilment of the Treaty of Bucharest.—The Conference of Akjerman.—Views of the Sultan Mahmoud.—The Viceroy of Egypt.—Destruction of the Janissaries.—Formation of new Troops.—Affairs of Greece.—The Russians enforce a Peace.—Terms of the Treaty.—Arrangements regarding the Tribute.—Settlement of the Claims of the Spahis.—Affairs of the Church.—The Boundaries determined on.

An event, which had been foreseen for a century, now occurred: the Greeks rose against the Turks. We have occasionally hinted at the movements perceptible in the Hellenic part of the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire, contemporaneously with the Servian disturbances. Those movements had all one common origin: the disorders of the institutions founded on Islamism, then falling into decay, and in a state of internal confusion; and also the antagonism of the power, and the incomparably superior development of those European Christian nations, to which the people considered themselves primarily related, and upon whose assistance they relied. According to the circumstances under which it commenced, however, the Greek enterprise displayed itself in a manner very different from that of an insurrection in Servia; the direct influences which contributed to it, the nations themselves, their occupation and their position in the world, being very dissimilar.

Thus the principle of emancipating the Christian popula-

tion, for which the Servians fought, obtained a wider and more general basis. Had the Grand Signior's hands been free, unquestionably he would not so quietly have allowed the Gospodar of Servia to unite the entire public authority in his own person. Under existing circumstances, however, he could not but be satisfied that a chief ruled in the country who kept the people under strict control, and prevented their participating in such schemes as tended towards the complete overthrow of the Turkish Empire. In his entire deportment, Milosch always observed the external semblance of obedience: he made no claim to absolute independence; and the Sultan had no reason to apprehend that he would take part in any demonstration excited by the Hetæria. Milosch observed amongst the adherents and friends of Ypsilanti, some members of the former Servian government whom he had excluded: the followers of the brothers Tscharapitsh, whom he had recently expelled, and who were equally hostile to his administration and to that of the Ottomans.

The simultaneous rising of the Greeks, and re-awakening of the Hellenic name, excited a generous interest amongst all the nations of Europe: a sympathy such as had never been known before; in which recollections of the classic ages, popular tendencies, and a universal Christian feeling were united. This ultimately brought the Christian powers under the necessity of directing their earnest attention towards the east, which they had hitherto insufficiently regarded.

What the former Russian government had already designed, the present, which entered upon office in the year 1825, executed with decision. With the utmost energy it took up its differences with the Porte—differences which had been suffered to exist without redress for many years.

It particularly adverted to the stipulations of the Treaty of Bucharest still remaining unfulfilled; one of the chief complaints of Russia being, that the concessions promised to the Servians in that treaty had not yet been granted.

The Porte, contending with the most dangerous revolution to which she had ever been exposed, and threatened at the same time by three powers, England, France, and Russia—which had formerly been restrained from hostile action by their political jealousies of one another—under the pressure

of the moment, consented to the demands of Russia: the Sultan set at liberty the Servian deputies, who were still detained, and promised to enter into negotiations with the Servian nation, for securing to it the privileges conceded by the treaty.

At a conference held at Akjerman, in the summer of 1826, the affairs of Servia formed one of the principal objects of negotiation.

After much hesitation, not unaccompanied by occasional apprehensions of total failure, the Porte accepted the Russian ultimatum.

In the Convention, which is designated as explanatory in execution of the Treaty of Bucharest, the Porte promised a more exact definition of the advantages which were at that time promised to the Servians in general terms.* In a special act are enumerated the demands which had been made by the Servians in 1820. The Porte gave assurance of coming to an understanding with the Servians regarding not only those concessions, but others which might perhaps also be made to them. It was agreed upon, that within eighteen months at the latest, a Hattischeriff, containing the agreement, should be forwarded to the Russian Court, and should then be considered as forming part of the Convention.†

* Convention explicative en exécution du Traité de Bucharest. 25 Sept. (7 Oct.), 1826. Art. 5.

† In the *Acte séparé relatif à la Servie*, the following were stated to be the demands of the nation: "La liberté du culte, le choix de ses chefs, l'indépendance de son administration intérieure, la réunion des districts détachés de la Servie, la réunion des différens impôts en un seul, l'abandon aux Serviens des biens appartenant à des Musulmans à charge d'en payer le revenu ensemble avec le tribut, la liberté de commerce, la permission aux négocians Serviens de voyager dans les états Ottomans avec leurs propres passeports, l'établissement d'hôpitaux, écoles et imprimeries, et enfin la défense aux Musulmans autres que ceux appartenant aux garnisons de s'établir en Servie." I do not know whether the following difference from the original declaration of the Porte be the effect of an accidental change of expression, or otherwise. In the "Note officielle de la Porte Ottomane, 1 (13) Mai, 1826, it promises, régler avec eux les demandes qui ne seraient pas contraires à la condition de rajahs." In the "*Acte particulier de la Servie*," on the other hand, it promises, réglements concernant les demandes susmentionnées (of 1820) de ce peuple, comme aussi de toute autre qui pourrait lui être faite par la députation Serbe, et qui ne serait pas contraire aux devoirs des sujets de l'empire Ottoman.

By this decree, the interpretation which the Servians had given to the Treaty of Bucharest obtained in reality a public recognition. If the Convention were carried into effect, the state thus regulated and arranged in accordance with their wishes, would at the same time enjoy the guarantee of a great European Power. These assurances were received in Servia with great joy; and in a Diet held at Kragujevaz, the Prince, with much solemnity, announced them to the nation.

All however depended on the Conventions being executed. But even by the proclamation of the Porte herself, it appeared, from the first, that it was not her intention to act with sincerity.

Sultan Mahmoud had just undertaken an enterprise, the result of which, he expected, would be the restoration of the empire to its ancient power.

The forces which the Sultan commanded (according to the constitution of his empire and army under the supremacy of the Janissaries, renewed since the year 1808) showed themselves less than ever capable of maintaining the power of the state. Expeditions on a large scale, intended to put down the Greeks, and set on foot with all the energy possible in the existing state of affairs, had entirely failed. If the Ottoman authority had not been destroyed in the territories of Greece, it was altogether owing to the Viceroy of Egypt, with his troops disciplined on an European model. What the Grand Signior at Constantinople had not dared to attempt, his vassal had been able to accomplish in a remote province. Favoured by peculiarity of situation, Mehemet Ali had utterly annihilated the authority of the Mameluke Beys, already severely shaken since the invasion of the French; and French and Italian officers of Napoleon's army had thereupon organised for him regular troops. When he came to the assistance of the Sultan, it was found that the Christians carried on an irregular warfare, according to the old barbarous practice, while the followers of Islam used military tactics: the Greeks were unable to resist the Egyptians.

These results, as may readily be imagined, made a powerful impression on the Sultan. The idea entertained by more than one of his predecessors, that internal reform was essential to the restoration of external splendour—an idea not relinquished even after the catastrophe of Selim, but

concealed only by necessity—might now, with more facility, be realised. The cause of the Janissaries could no longer be identified with that of Islam. It became necessary to tell them, that the resistance which they had opposed to every kind of improvement, was leading the empire to ruin—that they who desired to be regarded as the principal champions of Islam, were, in reality, its enemies. The men versed in the law now deserted the Janissaries, and in a great council of Viziers and Ulemas assembled at the house of Scheik-ul-Islam, in June, 1826, the views of the Grand Signior were unanimously adopted. A *Fetwa* was framed, and signed by all the members of the Council; directing the Janissaries to practise certain military exercises; for this reason: that it was only by encountering the infidels with a regular army, that the advantage gained by them over the Moslems could be recovered. At first only one hundred and fifty men out of each Orta were required to obey this order; which it was expected they would resist; but precautionary measures had been taken against such an event. As the opposition of the Topdschi had proved so destructive to the Sultan Selim, Mahmoud had the more earnestly exerted himself to gain them over to his plans. It is said that when Mahmoud heard of the manner in which Murat had cleared the streets of Madrid of the rebellious mob, the account produced so lively an impression on his mind that it was never forgotten. Accordingly, he now opposed cannon to the advancing masses of the Janissaries. The first discharge produced a dreadful effect, and dispersed them; when a horrible massacre ensued. The force was now solemnly abolished, and the name of the Janissaries consigned to oblivion. The Sultan did not deem it advisable to revive the title Nizami Dschedid; in which even Mehemet Ali had failed in the outset: he was satisfied that Egyptian officers should introduce into the Turkish army the discipline and order which they had acquired from the Europeans. And this determination was now accomplished without encountering any obstacles.

Mahmoud neglected no means which could enable him, at the earliest possible moment, to bring a disciplined force into the field; sufficiently numerous, as the firman says, to sustain the cause of religion and of the empire, under the designation of the "Victorious Mahometan Armies."

Thus the second movement emanating from the wars of the eighteenth century, and which produced reform, was at length effected; though not without the most frightful acts of violence and horror. Whatever might have been the origin of this scheme, its object was the sole domination of Islamism: Mahometans alone were to serve in an army destined to fight for the restoration of the authority of the Prophet.

The next aim of the Porte was to lead back to obedience the nations that were liberating themselves from her yoke. A book was printed and published, in which an expectation was expressed, that the new militia would not only prove efficient for the defence of the old provinces, but would also penetrate into the Christian countries of the Turkish Empire.

Aroused into courageous self-confidence, and animated with high and promising hopes, the Turks deliberately rejected the intervention of the three Powers in the affairs of Greece; and although the Greeks, acknowledging the external supremacy of the Porte, now claimed only the privilege of administering their internal affairs, the Divan declared that they would never agree to this concession.

The Sultan's determination was not influenced by the fact, that the intercourse between Egypt and the Morea had been most violently interrupted in the port of Navarino, and that the new Mahometan navy of the Viceroy had been destroyed at a blow.

After a solemn consultation of the Divan, the Grand Signior professed himself ready to pardon the Moreotes, and exempt them from a year's impost of the Harodsch, if they would submit. This was all that could be obtained from him.

Considerable progress having already been made in military reform, he resolved upon a most daring and speculative scheme.

In a proclamation addressed to the Ayans of Asia and Europe,—that Hattischeriff of December, 1827, which displays as strong a disposition for war as the edict of any former Sultan,—Mahmoud appeared ready to retract even the concessions he had made at Akjerman. He declared, in plain terms, that he had entered on those negotiations, only to obtain the time neccessary to prepare for war; and re-

specting the demands of the Servians, he observed that they had been unacceptable in themselves, and that nothing but the pressure of circumstances had induced his consent to them.

This was quite consistent; for, indeed, the European Powers had desired but little more for the Greeks; and this the Sultan had most indignantly refused. Moreover, in this proclamation the Christian people were represented as one nation, only desirous of annihilating Islamism. The Sultan invoked the determined valour with which, in ancient times, the Osmanlis had established in the world the true religion; and above all, he endeavoured to inflame the zeal of their orthodoxy against the Russians, as their principal enemies.

These were not times, however, for a general war to break out, as might have been expected; but a decision by recourse to arms could no longer be avoided: it was challenged by the Sultan himself.

The Egyptians gave way, in the Morea, before a French army; and the reformed military power of the Sultan was attacked by the Russians near the Danube.

It was evident that the Turkish troops had improved, as well in the defence of fortified places as in their bearing on the field. They obeyed more readily, and kept together for a longer period; but their military science had not advanced. Their efforts were directed now, as in earlier times, by blind impetuosity, and always against one particular point; consequently, no attention was paid to the manœuvres of the opposing leader.

In the second campaign, the Russians having crossed the mountains, which had always been regarded as the barrier of Roumelia, appeared in alarming proximity to the capital; and enforced a peace, in which all the pending questions were adjusted according to their desire.

In this peace the Porte not only consented to the proposals regarding Greece, which she had hitherto rejected with so much obstinacy, but declared herself ready to submit to such regulations as the contracting powers might agree upon for their fulfilment. This declaration led to a resolution for assigning narrower boundaries to Greece than had

been originally intended; but, on the other hand, it caused her to be raised into an independent kingdom.*

The sympathy of the Christian populations, which had been conspicuous in the years 1788 and 1806, was not so powerfully excited by this war. The Servians, also, had been prevented from taking up arms—though not without great difficulty and to their extreme annoyance; and their only influence on the course of events had been their opposition to the intended passage of the Bosnians over the Drina.

In the peace nothing was changed in the groundwork of the relations once fixed upon for the Servians; but they found cause for congratulation in the circumstance that these were now really carried into effect. At the final Treaty of Adrianople the Porte pledged herself to perform the stipulations entered upon at Akjerman—stipulations which rested on the Treaty of Bucharest,—"without the least delay, and with the most conscientious exactness; and, within a month, to bring under the cognisance of the Russian court the firman arranging these matters."

The Porte no longer eluded the performance of her promise. On the first of the *Rebi-el-accher* of the year of Hejira 1245 (September the 30th, 1829), fifteen days after the conclusion of the peace, the promised firman was issued, in the manner customary to the home administration of the Ottoman Empire. In this firman the demands of the Servians, according to the form and interpretation of the treaty of Akjerman, were communicated to the Pacha and Mollah of Belgrade, as being perfectly valid, and accompanied by an order for their execution.†

It was well understood, however, that there were still further arrangements necessary for carrying them into full effect; and the year 1830 brought with it the requisite decisive regulations. In the month of August of that year (7 *Rebi el awwel*, 1246), Sultan Mahmoud issued a Hattischeriff, embracing the more minute points for finally terminating the differences which, since the days of the Dahis, had

* Protocole No. 1, de la conférence tenue à Londres le 3e Février, 1830.

† Quoted by Friedrichstal, Serbiens Nuzeit, Appendix, I.

existed respecting the affairs of Servia.* The result of this was, that the fortresses were henceforth to have Turkish garrisons. Only once, during the whole course of events, had it appeared possible for the Servians to be freed from this necessity; and for some time past they had ceased to expect it. The Treaty of Bucharest had so often been referred to by the Servians, that those parts of it which were beneficial to the Turks must also have been maintained: this was the more needful, as a neglect of it might have threatened to disturb the general relations between the country and the government.

But the question was, how to remove certain difficulties, which the principle and custom of exclusive domination by the followers of Islam had necessarily introduced.

The Sultan agreed, in the first place, that the authorities of the Sublime Porte should neither meddle with the administration, nor interfere in the quarrels of the Servian nation.

The jurisdiction of the Musellims was now abolished by the express command of the Grand Signior. This jurisdiction, which the first Pacha after the war had re-established in its widest extent, the second had limited; but it had, nevertheless, occasioned so much misunderstanding, that Milosch had already dispensed with it, in effect. The entire administration was left to the Knias—as Milosch now officially styled himself—by whom it was to be conducted, with the assistance of the Council of Elders.

But this would have been impracticable, had not a change been effected in the various imposts that were customary in the country; and which presupposed a direct inspection—nay, a personal interference—by the Grand Signior's officers.

The Sultan consented to an arrangement which the Servians had demanded from the commencement, and by which his treasury was at least no loser: that the amount of the taxes should be fixed, and be delivered to him in one sum; in collecting which he was to be relieved from all trouble. This arrangement had been first proposed in Servia by Peter Itschko; in Greece, it had been contemplated as long as the preservation of the Grand Signior's supremacy was thought

* A translation of this document, certified by the Servian Chancery, appeared in the Allg. Zeit. of April 2 and 3, 1832.

of; and even at a later period, the practice has been maintained in Egypt. Without this, as we have said, independence of internal administration would have been impossible.

At the same time, too, this furnished the means of satisfying another claim which had hitherto proved a principal obstacle to the peace. The Spahis, as we know, still considered themselves the proprietors of the country. Their refusal to renounce this right, had prevented the fulfilment of the Treaty of Peter Itschko, as well as of the Treaty of Bucharest; and had principally contributed to the rupture which occurred in the year 1820. It was intimately connected with the principles of the Ottoman policy. The Sultan, however, now ordered that an estimate should be formed of the incomes of the Zaims and Timariotes throughout the Pachalic, and the amount paid to him, together with the tribute. Thus their claims to the tithe and Glavnitza, which they had exacted ever since the conquest of the country, were abolished; and it was left to the Sultan to indemnify his vassals for their loss.

It was also considered necessary entirely to separate the two populations; and the Sultan ordered that no Turk should henceforth have a claim to the personal services of a Servian. But this regulation alone would have been futile, there being no one to enforce obedience; the Sultan, therefore, judged it best to comply with the demands of the Servians, and absolutely to forbid any Turks not belonging to the garrisons of the fortresses, to remain in the country. To those who had landed property in Servia, a certain selling price was to be awarded by public functionaries appointed for the purpose. If any one were disinclined to part with his estates, he was not allowed to superintend them: the income derived therefrom was to be paid into the treasury at Belgrade, and thence remitted to the owner. The former influence of the Ottomans on the population, which had been the most frequent source of complaints, was thus strenuously sought to be prevented.

The army which had been settled in Servia—a warrior class whose authority was grounded on the prerogatives of their religion, and who had hitherto governed the country—now lost their claim to personal dominion. The poll-tax, formerly the sign that a person belonged to the Rayahs, was

no longer paid: at least not under that designation. Care was expressly taken, that the Turkish officers, in their intercourse with the Servians in the other provinces, should not demand any Teskeres from them, but be satisfied with certificates from the Servian government. Thus the Servians continued to be tributary subjects to the Porte, but no longer formed a Rayah or unarmed body as hitherto. No restriction existed with reference to apparel or dwellings, nor were arms any longer prohibited. Numerous churches were now built; and the Hattischeriff also contained a formal permission for the establishment of schools and hospitals, without requiring any previous application on the subject. In communicating these regulations, Milosch stated that divine service was allowed to be announced by the ringing of bells, and was to be performed in its ancient primitive solemnity without restriction.

All ecclesiastical concerns were also arranged in a manner corresponding to the wishes of the nation. It has been seen how much the former state of things was influenced by sending the bishops from Constantinople; but after the general change that had been effected, such relations could not continue: the Dimnitza could no longer be paid to the bishops, after all taxes analogous to it had been abolished.

It was desirable, too, to be freed from the Greek bishops, who had always been regarded as strangers; accordingly, in the Hattischeriff of 1830, the Servians were permitted to elect bishops and metropolitans from their own nation. To the Patriarchal Church at Constantinople was reserved the right of confirming those elected; but the bishops were not obliged to proceed in person to the capital for that purpose. Thus it became practicable to dissolve the connexion, as regarded those relations in which the Servian Eparchites stood towards the Greek Church: the nation taking upon itself to pay off the debt which had accumulated. Instead of the chimney-tax—the amount of which could not be precisely calculated, but which appeared to the Servian government excessive, the bishops were allowed a fixed salary out of the public treasury. Milosch had, on a former occasion, attempted to effect such an arrangement; but it was not until now that it could be accomplished. The clergy, in Servia, did not enjoy much influence; and the new regu-

lation was not of a character to exalt their independence. We will not inquire whether some objection might not be urged against this; but the main consideration was, that the bishopric could no longer be perverted to a means of hostility against the nation. The possibility of such a development of the ecclesiastical relations as had been intended by the Nemanjas, was restored to the nation: an advantage of incalculable importance, and affording great hope for the future.

Not only the inhabitants of the province of Belgrade—who had in fact been already emancipated—but those also who had joined Kara George in his later campaigns, were to participate in these advantages. This the Servians had asked in the year 1820; it had been agreed upon at Akjerman; and had been still more explicitly determined at Adrianople.

The Porte renewed her promise by the firman of 1829, and the Hattischeriff of 1830; and in the spring of the latter year, Turkish and Russian Commissioners travelled over the country to settle its boundaries.

Notwithstanding all these proceedings, however, the business was not yet settled. The Pachas would not believe that the Porte could even think of reducing the extent of their territories, or of placing them under the dominion of the Servian Knes.

When the Servian deputies mentioned the business at Viddin, the Pacha not only sent them away in disgrace, but added serious threats in the event of their venturing to excite disobedience amongst his subjects.

He treated with ridicule their statements concerning the advance guards of Kara George; and that the Heyduc Veliko had once galloped his horse in defiance before the fortress of Viddin.

Some Servians went into the districts on the Drina, furnished with money, and intending to purchase such property as the Turks possessed there; for it was understood that the provisions of the Hattischeriff were to be executed without delay. But they were attacked by armed men, and robbed of their money, as well as of their horses, and were thus forced to retrace their steps.

A servitude yet more severe, was also for some time imposed on the Christians in the disputed districts.

In Kruschevaz and Alexinaz, we again find the arbitrary administration of Subashaws and Tschitluksahibis. The Albanians belonging to an army engaged for an expedition against Bosnia, which was at that time in a state of rebellion, were guilty of violent outrages; and the people of these districts consequently rose in self-defence.

Several Albanian chiefs having forcibly carried off some young girls, the people—no longer disposed to submit tamely to wrongs—took a fierce revenge on all the perpetrators of the outrage. In Kraina and Kliutsch a regular rebellion broke forth; and at Gurgussovaz, where the Voivode proved more than usually obstinate, a sort of war ensued between the two parties.

Milosch took little precaution to appease disturbances, which were evidently beneficial to him; but he brought the affair under the consideration of Russia and the Porte in a more effectual manner.

In a conference held at Constantinople, on the 25th May, 1833, the boundaries were agreed to by the Turks, according to the report of the commissioners.* Some time elapsed before the formal decree respecting them was issued; but the taking possession of the districts, for which everything had been prepared, could no longer be difficult.

The boundaries were fixed in conformity with the representation made when speaking of the conquests of Kara George. We are not, however, prepared to indicate them with accuracy, or to state the extent of the territory, and the number of its inhabitants; but it was estimated that the country and the people were augmented about one-third.

Everything had thus been settled concerning the relations of the Servians to the Ottoman Empire, and to the Mahometan population in general. The great causes of contention had been removed; but there were yet other questions which now came prominently forward, and led to events that could not have been foreseen.

* According to an article, considered to be official, in the Allg. Zeitung, July 9, 1833.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF MILOSCH, AND THE OPPOSITION AGAINST HIM.

Position of Milosch.—He is elected Knias.—The Porte makes the Dignity hereditary in his Family.—He assumes arbitrary Power, and neglects to advance the Interests of the Nation by promoting its Civilization.—The Code Napoleon adopted as the Model for the proposed Laws of Servia.—Arbitrary Proceedings of Milosch.—He endeavours to monopolize the Commerce of the Country.—His Treatment of the Public Officers.—He refuses to bestow Lands and Estates on his Courtiers.—Conspiracy against him.—He pledges himself to accede to the Wishes of the Chiefs.—Skupschtina of 1835.—Concessions of the Knias.

Of the various demands made by the Servians in 1820, that relating to the individual position of Milosch was left unsettled by the Treaty of Akjerman; which only stated that the nation had the right of freely electing its chiefs. How this point was overlooked is not known; though the fact is reported from Servia on credible authority.

In the year 1817, Milosch had already been elected by the Servians as their chief; and in 1827, at the Diet in which the articles of the Treaty of Akjerman were announced, this election was renewed. Grand Kneses, Kneses of the districts, and the elders, clergymen, and members of the courts of justice—in their own names, and in the names of the nation, and of those brethren who were yet to be united to them—declared themselves willing to be subject to his Serene Highness the Prince Milosch Obrenovitsch, to him and his descendants, from generation to generation, as their Lord and Prince.

They all, in a body, signed a petition praying the Grand Signior to grant them a native metropolitan, and to appoint Milosch Obrenovitsch as their hereditary Prince.

But far too much war and violence yet prevailed, for these things to be so quickly achieved. In the peace of Adrianople, as well as in the firman issued directly afterwards, it was the nation only, and not the prince, of whom mention was made. When Milosch, at the Skuptschina, in

1830, acquainted the nation with this firman, he laid great stress on the circumstance that they were no longer to be ruled by an ever-changing succession of Turkish officers, who came only to amass riches in the country; but by men who had associated with them, and who meant to live and die amongst them. He added, at the same time, that as they had so nearly reached their aim, it was his intention to retire; and the nation might then elect some other prince, the best and ablest in the country. This intimation, as he expected, proved the very means by which his election, already twice made, was again repeated. The assembly saluted him as the "Prince given by God;" and they solicited the Porte to confirm Milosch Obrenovitsch as a Knias, legally ruling over them; and to allow this dignity to be hereditary in his family: "according," as they said, "to the for-ever-unchangeable resolution of the nation."

The Porte could no longer hesitate to comply with this wish; and acceded to it the more readily, as Milosch had rendered some services to the state in the last war: for instance, he had sent provisions down the Danube, which had proved of great importance to the imperial army. The Hattischeriff of 1830 expressly affirmed, that Milosch should be maintained as Knias of the nation, and the dignity be made hereditary in his family. The *Berate* granted by the Porte to Milosch was couched in these terms:—"that the princely dignity shall be assured to him for his lifetime; after his death, it shall pass to his eldest son; and afterwards to his grandson."

The Porte insisted, that it was by her imperial favour and election that this honour was conferred on Milosch, in consideration of his fidelity: he was to carry on the administration of the country under her auspicies.

Milosch, however, could not contrive to have his name mentioned in the treaty between the European powers; which would have afforded him a security such as the nation had obtained, independent of the caprice of the Porte. His position remained, as it had been from the first, a combination of Turkish supremacy and the free choice of the Servians.

One might almost suppose that he had not a clear conception of the true nature of his princely dignity.

It had cost him much trouble to advance thus far, and he appeared to think that, after obtaining a Berate and a Hattischeriff, all had been accomplished. He seemed to consider himself the founder of a dynasty, and to regard his authority as inviolable.

But if we reflect on the real state of the case, it will be found that, from the very commencement, contrary results might have been expected. It must be recollected under what opposition Milosch had established his dominion in the interior; and how, after he had succeeded in removing his rivals, he was opposed by those through whom and over whom he sought to rule: he was obliged to combat them all, and to suppress the elements of rebellion with a strong hand.

At the Skupschtina of 1827, he found it necessary to excuse the harshness and severity of his administration, by alluding to the great scheme of liberation which he had in view, and which could be accomplished by no other means. It is clear that if the nation considered it their interest to obey him, it was because they felt the necessity of a firm and indissoluble union.

Now, however, the object which had influenced them was in reality attained: under the guarantee of a great power, they had acquired from the Turks a position of independence. All the districts, in which, during the war, a national combination had once been formed, were now re-united. No fear of re-action was for the present entertained. But were the people, therefore, to endure the severe sway of Milosch, now that the necessity for it no longer existed?

Milosch ought to have attached more importance to this consideration; for whatever terms the Grand Signior might employ, the attachment of the nation, and their repeated election of him as their ruler, must be regarded as the principal, though not the only basis of his power. Should the nation ever desert him, it was not to be supposed that the Sultan would continue his support merely for the sake of his Berate. He could at any time find a pretext for retracting that instrument.

Thus there was a more absolute necessity for him to keep on good terms with the people, than for other rulers to conciliate their subjects.

If, then, he had imbibed the principles of true civilisation, and had rendered his nation morally superior to the Ottomans, he would have excited sympathy for himself, and for the principle of Christian emancipation throughout the world!

This was brought under the notice of Milosch more than once; and I cannot forbear mentioning that his attention was drawn to this subject in the first edition of this work, which appeared in 1829. I trust to escape the imputation of vanity in repeating the words in which I then expressed the hope, entertained by the friends of the Servian cause, that the independence of the country, in its internal relations, would be strengthened, without arbitrary measures.

We indulged in the expectation that Milosch would employ all the power by which he had been enabled, in times of turbulence, to free himself from the Turks, and to maintain the country in peace, in promoting the welfare of the nation intrusted to his care, and in advancing the development of her capabilities.

We observed that, "all that is glorious and desirable amongst men must prompt him to attempt this. Then only would the people be attached to him, if they found themselves happy and secure through good institutions. Thus alone could they be led to hold his name, like the name of the Nemanjas, in enduring remembrance.

"But there can be no security without laws. Neither the multitude of Momkes, the power of arms, nor the apparent devotion of favoured adherents, will suffice. It is only by effecting the safety of the people, through wise laws, that he himself can feel secure. There is no doubt that he will establish laws, not exactly borrowed from Europe (for such perhaps might be little adapted to the requirements of the country), but plain and simple ones; such as may be in accordance with the character of the Servian people—to secure life, property, religious and civil liberty to every one, so far as can consist with the unity of a state. On this subject he ought to consult the elders of the nation. He should give and maintain such laws as would temper severity with mildness. The nation would then appreciate his worth, and would perceive that he laboured less for his own power than for its prosperity. He need not then be under any apprehension respecting the return of those who had remained

exiles and emigrants since the time of Kara George; and people of neighbouring states would be desirous of living under his rule.

"As there can be no security for an internal administration without laws, neither can there be any freedom from the Turks, without mental cultivation. It is true, the nation is free from their power; but it will be ruled by their manners, customs, and sentiments, and their imperceptible influence, until it shall have raised itself above them by the cultivation of its own noble talents. The superiority indicated having been once asserted, the Servians will never again have cause for fear: Milosch will, no doubt, as he has long intended, establish schools upon a larger scale in the country, and regulate them in conformity with the requirements of his nation. In teaching the Christian religion in its purity, no difficulty can arise; for the clergy will not possess such preponderating influence as would enable them to contend for their own peculiar errors and tenets. Their songs may serve to instruct the people in much of their national history; and whatever may be objectionable in them may be reformed and purified by the doctrines of the Gospel. They do not require a barbarous semi-learning, tending only to confuse the uneducated mind. Means can also be found to communicate gradually to the nation the scientific knowledge which Europe has acquired. Only by such measures can the Servians be enabled to rise superior to the Turks, and to participate in that mental and spiritual strength which constitutes real happiness. The soil is ready—nothing but the distribution of the good seed is wanting."

The hope that Milosch would sow this good seed has not, however, been realised.

An attempt, indeed, was made for the establishment of laws; and, as we have been assured, with especial reference to the opinions above expressed.

Milosch, like Mehemet Ali of Egypt, was convinced that the *Code Napoleon* was the most excellent of all law books, and he declared himself willing to draw up Servian laws after its model.

Accordingly the Code Napoleon was translated from the German into the Servian language; commentaries on it were ordered from Vienna; and a Polish version also was con-

sulted. The text thus obtained was examined by a commission, in which Protitsch, Lasar Theodorovitsch, and Prota Nenadovitsch took part. The compilation of the Servian Code was intrusted to Wuk Karadschitsch and a secretary. The articles were read in turn, and accepted, or if unsuitable, laid aside. It was fortunate when their meaning happened to be understood. A Polish lawyer who appeared before the commissioners, rendered but slight assistance in the arrangement; as it frequently occurred that the strong plain sense of the unlearned, more clearly penetrated the meaning of the original. At length, in the autumn of 1830, the commissioners had made such progress, that all the clerical and lay dignitaries were summoned to hear the reading of the draft. The legislative rulers accordingly assembled in an extensive meadow, where the draft was read through, and, after a few alterations, accepted.

This, there can be no doubt, was an imperfect work; in which the eyes of the scholar would have detected many faults. Yet the establishing of these laws was very desirable. They would, at least, have acted as a check upon that absolute sway which set all order at defiance, and would have given the people some degree of security. But after the arrival of the Berate from Constantinople, they were for a time no longer thought of, and things remained in their wonted violent and tumultuous state.

The public power represented by Milosch did not yet distinctly acknowledge private rights.

Milosch took possession of whatever he pleased—fields, houses, and mills—fixing the price himself. He one day—as though he were the proprietor, and without asking leave of any one—burnt one of the suburbs of Belgrade, because it was his intention to erect new buildings on the site. He also continued to impose the most severe bond-service: the peasants of Uschize had to come to Kragujevaz, to assist him in his hay-harvest; and the traders of Belgrade were seen to close their shops that they might go to unload the hay of the Knias.*

Nor were the people remunerated for the quartering and

* The most important document which has been published concerning the administration of Milosch, and the general feeling it excited, is a long and explicit letter of Wuk Karadschitsch to Milosch, which appeared in

provisions of the soldiers. Whilst the Turkish Tâtars (Couriers) were already beginning to pay for what they had, the Servian messengers exacted their supplies gratuitously. It was not unusual for a Momke to leave his tired horse in the village, in charge of the bystanders, and take the first he could find as a substitute in the interim. "I should like to see," said one of the Prince's drivers, "who would dare to disobey his Highness;" and he immediately put the oxen of the peasants to his carriage.

Under such circumstances, it frequently occurred that the public power was abused for personal advantage. What had previously occasioned such great excitement against Mladen and Miloie was repeated by Milosch, who endeavoured to monopolise the most lucrative trade of the country—that of dealing in swine. He enclosed the woods, which had hitherto been common to all, for the purpose of keeping his own cattle in them. A very extraordinary decree, by which the giving credit was impeded, or even prohibited, was interpreted by the people into an intention on the part of Milosch to prevent every sort of association, in order that he, as the richest man in Servia, might monopolise the entire commerce of the country. He appeared to consider that the power of the Sultan had been delegated to him, and that consequently he was absolute master over the land, the people, and their property.

"Am I the master," he was heard to say, "and shall I not be at liberty to do what I please?" Indeed he was invariably designated *Master* in the country.

And woe to the man who opposed him, or appeared dangerous to him! He exercised his power of life and death as despotically and as irresponsibly as any Turkish Pacha.

Another principle of the Turkish system of government, that the possessor of the chief authority should administer it through the medium of his servants, was also adopted by Milosch. His officers—and under this denomination were now included the Kneses—were treated as slaves: they were badly paid, and were raised to higher offices, and degraded to those of minor importance, without adequate cause; so

the Servian and German languages, in the "Serbische Courier" of April 25, 1843, and the following numbers.

that it was difficult to distinguish the superior from the inferior. They were also punished with stripes; as were at one time the officers of the Mongol Khans: men of rank are known to have received personal chastisement, and yet afterwards to have been appointed senators.

That sense of the honour attached to a public officer, on which the modern German States are chiefly founded, was altogether wanting in Servia. A public officer would rather see his daughter married to a mechanic or shopkeeper—to say nothing of the settled peasantry, who were always much preferred—than to any of his younger colleagues. People from Austrian Hungary who entered the Servian service were mostly such as in their own country were, from one cause or another, without prospects and obliged to risk something for their advancement.

No one had any reason to hope that personal merit would insure his promotion. On the contrary, the conduct of Milosch induced the belief that he was rather jealous of superior talent: a species of egotism that has but rarely occurred. He was anxious to be the most powerful, as well as the only distinguished man in the country.

In the Hattischeriff of 1830, it was expressly declared that he should administer the government of the country, assisted by the Council of Elders; but Milosch was not the person to abandon, at the bidding of the Grand Signior, a course of proceeding to which he had become habituated; and he did not even affect compliance.

It must not, however, escape notice, that this jealousy of the infringement of his absolute power, and his unwillingness to permit any sort of rivalry, produced other consequences. Milosch resisted a demand, the concession of which would have given to the nation a government corresponding with the Turkish system, but a grade lower. As the Spahis, up to the final settlement of affairs, continued to collect their tithes in person, and were considered the land-owners, a desire was felt by those who were about the Knias to step into their places, and to appear as the new landlords in the villages.

They represented to Milosch how difficult it would be to govern the people without an intermediate power; and what a beneficial aid, on the contrary, he would always

find in those whom he might invest with possession of the soil.

"What dost thou mean to do," was asked of one, who appeared particularly anxious to obtain a few villages as fiefs, "shouldst thou receive the grant?" "I should sit and smoke," he answered, "until our master might require my assistance, and then I would fly hither with my Momkes." If they could have ruled the villages, they would willingly have allowed Milosch to retain, as his own property, the crown lands which he now held as tenant.

One of the most important acts of this Servian Prince, and that of the greatest moment for future times, was his resistance of these solicitations. Although in other respects imitating the Grand Signior, he still differed from him in this, that he did not distribute any fiefs. He was determined that the abolition of the rights of landholders, the income accruing from which was added to the tribute paid by the nation, should in return benefit the nation.

By proceeding thus, Milosch rendered incalculable service to the Servian peasantry; who acquired a degree of independence such as scarcely any other peasantry enjoy. Yet it is true this did not augment the number of his adherents; and as his conduct afforded cause for many just and well-founded complaints, a general murmur arose against him, which he alone did not hear.

Milosch had nothing to fear from independent rivals influential in large districts: they were principally his friends and adherents who conspired against him.

The first conspiracy against him was formed on the occasion of a christening at the dwelling of Stojan Simitsch, whom Milosch had appointed Knes of Kruschevaz, and presented with a Konak.* Stojan had long frequented the house of Milosch, and by the cheerfulness of his disposition was become an especial favourite with the children. The consort of Milosch, accompanied by Ljubiza, who was to stand godmother to the infant; Abraham Petronievitsch; Milosav, Knes of Ressava; and old Mileta Radoikovitsch, who had been standard-bearer under Kara George, came to Stojan Simitsch: Milutin Petrovitsch, a brother of the

* Palace.

Heyduc Veliko, was also present, with some Momkes escorting, the Princess.

During the day, in presence of the Princess, the company drank the health of the Prince. In the evening, however, when they were alone, very different themes were discussed. To their former subjects of complaint a new one was added; that Milosch seemed desirous to avoid the customary Diets: as he had just then put off the one last appointed, although he had solemnly promised that it should be held.

Milosav was the party who had the greatest influence on the minds of the assembly. He was one of the richest men in the country, possessing many farms, studs, and mills; and upon a former occasion, when the decree of the Knias was made known—that all land was to be regarded as the property of the Emperor and the highest authority—he had spoken very warmly: observing, that any such enforcement might one day cause bloodshed.

It may be recollected that, in Kara George's time, the Diets—to which the Gospodars and Voivodes brought as many devoted friends as they could collect—became the scene of political conflicts. At the present period the assembly had determined to meet in great numbers, at the next Skupschtina, which was expected to be held; and to enforce, even by violence, if necessary, an alteration of the oppressive government.

They well knew that the general feeling was in their favour. Milutin Petrovitsch, though he belonged to the household of the Prince, undertook to use his exertions to gain over one district. He did not deem it necessary even to conceal his intention; but on their way home mentioned it to the Princess, who, as soon as the first movement was observed, disclosed to the Prince what she had heard.

Milosch sent for Milutin, and reproached him for having made so ungrateful a return for the benefits he had received. Milutin answered,—the project had not been devised by him, but by others: "now, however," he added, "every one agrees to it." "How so—every one?" inquired Milosch. "Even he who stands next thee," replied Milutin. This was the favourite chief of Milosch; an old Momke of the Prince's family, named Joseph. On a former occasion, Milosch had already been warned of the danger into which his proceed-

ings would plunge him—for, in fact, the murmur against him was universal; but he had despised the warning.—"Is it true, what Milutin says?" he inquired of the old man Joseph. "My Prince," was the answer, "it is true; the people say they can no longer go on in their present state."

Milosch had hitherto proceeded altogether according to his own caprice. He had thought that anything would be permitted to him—that everything would be allowed to pass. He had derided Charles X., who would not have been dethroned, he said, had the King understood how to reign, as he did in Servia. He now saw a still worse fate awaiting himself; a defection as general, and even still more personal.

Endowed with quickness of apprehension, he at once comprehended the extent of his danger; and perceiving the superiority of his opponents, he immediately determined to leave the country.

He was entreated, however, not to be too hasty: no one desired to seize his person or his life; the people did not even wish to overthrow his government: they wanted only security and their rights.

"If that be the case," said Milosch, "I will satisfy them."

In the meantime the troops that had been assembled in the different Nahies marched onwards to Kragujevaz. Vutschitsch, who, in outward appearance at least, was still a friend of the Prince, was there with some forces: he could hardly, however, have defended the place against those who were approaching, even had he been willing to exert himself; having only about as many hundred men as his opponents had thousands.

Milosav, Abraham, and Mileta, therefore, entered Kragujevaz unopposed.* It would be wrong to give credence to the assertion that it was their intention to plunder the town or the Konak of the Prince: on the contrary, Mileta, a Servian of the old school, had threatened to put to death with his own hand any one who should venture to hurt a hair of another's head.

* January 8 (20), 1835: A very full report in favour of the Chancery of Milosch, from which doubtlessly it emanated, appeared in the Allg. Zeitung of October 13, 1836, and the following numbers.

Milosch, who was now neither able nor willing to oppose the chiefs by force, requested them to send their men home; pledging himself that, at the next Skupschtina, everything should be arranged agreeably to their wishes. He even went himself to meet them at Kragujevaz. His youngest son had arrived there before him; and at the head of the Kneses, he returned to his father, demanding their pardon. Milosch greeted them in friendly terms, and received them in his residence at Kragujevaz.

Thus commenced the Skupschtina of the year 1835. It was evident from the nature of events that the results would be different from those of any by which it had been preceded. In every former instance, Milosch had come forward as the conqueror—as the absolute master: now, on the contrary, he appeared rather as the vanquished; his adversaries being in the majority.

The speech with which he opened the Skupschtina, on the 2nd of February, 1835, clearly explained the alteration that had taken place.

In it he promised to limit his government, not only by laws, but also by a kind of constitution; that a statute should be framed, in which the rights of the Servians should be fixed as justice and humanity required: and especially that personal liberty and property should be fully secured.

It had often been said, that Milosch alone was the government of his country; that with him it arose and went to sleep; that it travelled with him; and that, some day, it would also die with him. Now, he declared he would appoint a Ministry, consisting of six administrators of public affairs, answering to the established divisions of the new State, who should be at all times bound to submit public business to the consideration of a Senate, which he designated the Council of State; and that they should be responsible to the nation as well as to himself. He appeared willing to reserve to himself only the supreme superintendence and confirmation of their edicts. Lastly, the jurisdiction was no longer to be left to the arbitrary decision of the judges, but was to be regulated by fixed written laws. What the people had so long been aiming at, was at length to be accomplished: Milosch declared himself to be amenable to the laws.

It is remarkable, what ideas, flowing from the constitutional movements of Europe, were now making their way into this half-oriental state. These ideas involved the rights and privileges of men—which especially comprehended security of person and property; responsibility of ministers; and, lastly, that the Prince himself should be amenable to the laws; though, it is true, the laws had yet to be framed.

An independent share in the exercise of the public power to be held by those who had formerly been regarded as inferiors, was at the same time to be connected with this. All the Kneses, Councillors, and other officers, who had been treated as servants—as slaves, even—were to appear as participators in power by the side of the hitherto "Absolute Master."

With this view a full and explicit Charter was drawn up; which, in fourteen chapters and one hundred and twenty-two articles, embraced a new Servian Code of Laws, and was accepted with all due solemnity. Numerous appointments were made, titles were distributed, stipends were fixed: by one act Servia seemed to have been metamorphosed.

It is, however, one thing to frame regulations under some strong momentary impulse, and another to carry them into effect.

In Servia, enforcement of the new laws could not but be attended with many serious difficulties.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHARTER OF 1838; FALL OF MILOSCH.

Opposition to the new Constitution.—Conduct of Milosch.—His Monopolies.—Jephrem and Vutschitsch are expelled from Servia.—History of Vutschitsch.—Dissatisfaction of Russia and the Porte with Milosch.—An English Consul sent to Servia.—Abraham Petronievitsch.—Charter of 1838.—The Senate is made superior to the Knias.—Milosch is deprived of his absolute Power.—The exiles, Jephrem and Vutschitsch, are nominated Senators.—The Servian Ministry.—Milosch withdraws to Semlin.—He returns to Servia.—Movements in his Favour.—Vutschitsch defeats the Rebels.—He marches into Belgrade at the Head of a large Army.—Milosch sentenced to Exile.—Abdication of Milosch in Favour of his Son, and his Retirement into Austria.

Properly speaking, nothing had yet been accomplished: excepting that an opposition, whose claims were only too well founded, had forced itself into power, scarcely any object had yet been attained.

That the new Constitution should be acknowledged and carried into effect, could hardly have been expected, even at the outset.

Already had its name, the analogy it bore to other European Constitutions, and its origin in a popular movement resembling a revolution, rendered it offensive to the two great neighbouring Empires.

Besides this, it was not to be supposed that it could ever be sanctioned by the approval of the Sultan. In it Milosch had been designated Chief of all the Servians; and at its formation, people who were present from other countries—especially some Bulgarians—had been considered as deputies of their respective nations. Milosch seemed to consider himself as the natural leader, if not of all the Christians, at least of all the Sclavonians in the Turkish Empire. He made no secret of his opinion, that a Christian Government was also necessary for the other tribes of the Rayahs; but expressed it to every one who cared to listen.

If the Constitution, though yet imperfect, had really a charm for the ambition of Milosch, the results which he

anticipated were yet distant; whilst the restrictions to which he must submit touched him closely: and to him those restrictions were odious in the extreme. The opposition of the Porte, and of the two other Powers, was, therefore, most welcome to him: he continued to reign, as though the Constitution had never been framed.

On a journey to Constantinople, which he undertook in the summer of 1835, upon a wish expressed by the Porte, (who is fond of bringing her vassals before her,) he met with an apparently cordial reception. In truth, he did not spare his presents; and Mahmoud is reported to have said, "His presents are as noble as he is himself." He consequently thought he might, without apprehension, continue his accustomed mode of government.

In the autumn of 1835, his official Gazette proclaimed that, in Servia, the Prince was the only Master; that no one besides himself had any claim to political power; and that the country found itself happy under the sway of the monarchical principle.

That Milosch would not suffer any rival near him, was a point of little importance, had he only avoided those acts which had formerly attracted general odium.

But he became, if possible, yet more inflexible: his monopolies, for instance, were rendered still more systematic.

It is calculated that the country requires annually thirty millions of okas of salt from Wallachia. Without possessing even the pretext of a right of such an act, he imported the entire quantity from Wallachia, and caused it to be sold by his own people; nor would he allow any one else in the country to offer salt for sale.

He also claimed the exclusive right of exporting many articles; collecting them in the country according to his own pleasure, and fixing the prices he was disposed to pay.

This produced a still more unfavourable impression; as the money which he thus gained he expended out of the country. For instance, he purchased land in Wallachia: as though he did not consider property secure in Servia. Thus, the advantage which he had formerly pointed out as the greatest derivable from the newly obtained privileges—that Servia should henceforth be governed by men who were determined to live and die with her—seemed no longer to

influence him; at least where his own individual interests were concerned.

It is true, he recommenced the compilation of written laws, which for a long time had been laid aside. Two Austrian-Servians, possessing a tolerable knowledge of jurisprudence, were engaged in this work; but its completion was yet distant, and in the interim the old form of despotism prevailed.

As already remarked, the effects of the Turkish system of government remained so strong that the first and simplest principle—security of person and property—was not yet established.

It is unnecessary to sum up the manifold violations of law which have been reported with a greater or less degree of truth: the fact is undoubted. It was not long before Milosch again considered his power sufficiently confirmed and strengthened to attack even his most influential enemies, who had formerly endeavoured to circumscribe his authority.

George Protitsch, who had on one occasion received personal chastisement, but was afterwards appointed a member of the National Senate, did not at first take part in the conspiracy of Kruschevaz; subsequently, however, he became as zealous in the cause as others were. It was said, that he had advised his party in the first place to rid themselves by whatever means might offer, of the Knias; who would otherwise be sure to take his revenge. It was by flight, in the year 1836, that he escaped the ruin which, in consequence, threatened him.

The Prince entertained hatred almost as violent for his own brother Jephrem, who had formerly assisted very actively in his administration, but had for a considerable time sided with the Opposition; and who, in 1837, was obliged to leave the country together with Vutschitsch: to whom our attention must now be directed.

Thoma Peritschitsch, called Vutschitsch, was one of the favourite Momkes of the Prince, since the time that he had joined him from the party of Hadji Prodan. During this period, however, he occasionally fell into disgrace, and found himself obliged to leave the Prince; and, even after he had been made a Knes and had rendered important services against Djak, no one experienced more frequent alternations

of favour and disgrace. Nor were these unmixed with jealousy on the part of Milosch: for soon after the victory referred to, Vutschitsch was compelled to flee into Wallachia, whence he returned to be appointed Grand Sirdar.

A short time after this, he is found in exile at Semendria, whence he was recalled to fill an appointment in the retinue of the Prince's consort. He also played a prominent part at Schabaz; where, it appears, he had committed some impropriety. Milosch despatched one of his most devoted and resolute Momkes, with an order to bring him back, dead or alive. The Momke entered Vutschitsch's apartment with a pistol in one hand and fetters in the other, and demanded which he would choose. Vutschitsch only inquired by whose order this threat was made; and when the Momke answered, by that of the Prince, he, without resistance, put forth his feet to receive the fetters. In this manner he was brought into the presence of the Prince; who then pardoned him, and appointed him member of the Supreme Court of Justice: and even, as we have stated, intrusted him with the defence of Kragujevaz. But he offered no forcible opposition to the approaching army of the conspirators; and thus excited a much deeper feeling of anger, which could not be easily appeased. At the distribution of the Turkish marks of distinction, which Milosch had brought with him from Constantinople, Vutschitsch, contrary to his expectations, saw himself passed over; and in an article of the "Allegemeine Zeitung," which was considered official, he was in plain terms designated a traitor, who had given up the town to the insurgents. When this was read to him, he placed his hand on his dagger, and exclaimed, "Whenever it shall be our turn to write, this shall be our pen!" This speech is characteristic of his disposition. Vutschitsch can neither read nor write: he is not fond of speaking, even of his own deeds. He possesses a sound understanding, and a firm spirit; is considered courageous, resolute, and merciless; and is justly dreaded.

It excited no surprise, that those who had fled, as well as those remaining in the country, who might expect a fate similar to that of Vutschitsch, should unite all their efforts in a second attempt against Milosch.

It was obvious to them that nothing could be obtained by

an open revolt of the people; nor by the renewal of an attempt to establish a Constitution which had been rejected by the great Powers; yet they hoped that means might be found to render the Sultan, as well as the Court of Russia, favourable to a change.

It was of advantage to the enemies of the Knias, that neither Russia nor the Porte was satisfied with his political administration.

The Porte considered that after she had confirmed Milosch in his station, he no longer maintained allegiance. She was of opinion that he had been on too good terms with her rebellious subject, the Scodrabashaw; and that, upon the whole, he was not favourable to the extension of the Sultan's power. It was offensive to her in the highest degree that Milosch should so unflinchingly support the principle of Servian independence, and not allow her own functionaries any participation in the government.

Any one who, during Milosch's stay at Constantinople, could have anticipated future events, might have perceived that the magnificence of his presents served only to excite ill will against him. Even some of those by whom he was accompanied brought complaints against him, and found many ready to listen to their grievances: and, perhaps, obtained, at that very time, the promise that, in case of need, they should find support.

Milosch wished for another Firman, and he obtained it; but, finding it so little in accordance with his wishes, he was not inclined to make it publicly known. His adversaries, however, were acquainted with its contents: for it had been framed at their suggestion; and they, in consequence, more confidently indulged in the hope of soon finding themselves in a position to rise against their Chief.

Considerations of a different nature may, at this moment, have influenced the Court of Russia.

These events occurred at the time of a serious disunion between Russia and the two great Western Powers, England and France. Their estrangement had principally originated in the existing state of Eastern affairs, which was still the subject of dissension: war seemed continually on the point of breaking out. It was not without some object in view that England had sent a consul to Servia; where he expe-

rienced the most favourable reception from Milosch. Commercial subjects were discussed, which agreed well with the monopolising system of the Servian Prince: and a permanent union accordingly appeared desirable to both parties.

On former occasions Milosch had displayed peculiar dexterity in steering, amidst the shoals which impeded his course, through the opposing interests of the different Powers, and without exciting their enmity. But now he evinced an inclination which, and it cannot excite surprise, gave offence at St. Petersburg: it was impossible that the authorities there should observe, without dissatisfaction, that in those inland regions, a foreign influence, frequently in opposition to them, was about to be established.

But the point of greatest moment was, that the outrages of which the Knias was accused were flagrant and undeniable. In the year 1837 a high Russian dignitary, of an ancient family, visited Servia for the purpose of seriously and urgently warning the Prince.

At length, also, inquiry was made from Constantinople, as to the cause of their being so many malcontents in Servia; and the Prince was required to send a deputation to the Porte, for the final regulation of the interior administration of the country.

The discord of the European Powers, which occupied the world, had slightly touched upon these concerns, if it had not actually influenced them. The English consul was certainly in favour of an extension of the princely power in Servia; and it is affirmed, with much credibility, that the instructions of France were to support Milosch. Their joint opinion was, that in a country like Servia—in a state little above barbarism—a strong and severe exercise of power was indispensable.

Thus the Constitutional States were in favour of an absolute Prince; whilst the absolute Powers contended for a restriction of his authority.

Under their combined influence, a short time before, limits had been prescribed to the powers of the Gospodars of the two Principalities. This was effected by an edict, precisely detailing the regulations for the government, and at the same time conceding advantages to their general assemblies.

With respect to Servian affairs, the hands of Russia were

entirely free. She had never interfered in favour of the Prince in authority at the time; but had only guaranteed that the country should enjoy the rights of a free internal administration.

The Porte, it is true, had granted to Milosch the governing power for his lifetime; and to his family the right of succession; but in her Hattischeriff it was expressly stated that the Prince should rule with the assistance of the Council of the Elders. She thought proper now to refer to this stipulation, and to carry it into effect.

It was an unfavourable omen for Milosch, that the Porte demanded the admission of Petronievitsch into the deputation; for he had complained of the Prince's proceedings, and was one of his declared enemies.

Abraham Petronievitsch was the son of one of those Servians who entered the service at the outbreak of the Austrian war of 1787: his father being a subaltern officer of the corps of volunteers. He himself had been brought up for a merchant, but not proving successful in this pursuit, he returned to Servia. There he made such progress in the Chancery Court—in a great measure owing to his knowledge of Greek—that he soon became a person of some importance. For a time he served the Prince as Predstavnik (chamberlain), and considered himself his Kiaja; but the closer the connection between them, the more irreconcilable his enmity became after the rupture of 1835. He is described as a good-natured man, not liking to give a refusal to any one; but if called upon to act, he would do so only in conjunction with others. He had acquired some influence with the Turks; having shown himself skilful and subtle during the long detention of the Servian deputation of 1820. He might be considered as the leader of those who endeavoured, by founding a new form of government under the auspices of the two Courts, to protect themselves against the danger they were threatened with from Milosch.

It was in vain that Milosch hoped to counteract the efforts of his opponents, by the zealous aid of a devoted friend whom he placed in the deputation; or through the influence of the English consul: the direction which events were to take had already been determined.

The Servian deputies and the Porte—not without the

participation of the Russian Court, which was informed of all that passed, and gave its consent—now framed a Charter for Servia; the tendency of which was, to yield only a limited degree of power to the Prince; who had hitherto acted just as he thought fit. It is true, the execution of the laws, the fulfilment of the juridical verdicts, the right of pardoning, the nomination of dignitaries, the raising of the imposts, the supreme command of the army, were all conferred on him in honourable and flattering terms. Moreover, the Charter directed that the Senate, which was formed for him, should assist him with its counsel. But the Senate was invested with rights which far exceeded those of the Prince.

The Prince was to superintend the collectors of the imposts; but the Senate had to estimate the amount of expenditure, and to fix the ways and means for raising the supplies. No tax could be levied without the sanction of the Senate.

Hence it followed, that the Senate had also the regulation of the number and pay of the troops; the salaries of public functionaries; and the creation of new offices.

The legislative power was almost exclusively allotted to the Senate. When it had consulted respecting laws which it might consider beneficial, and had come to a determination by a majority of votes, the statute, signed by the president, was to be laid before the Prince. No order was to be issued without the consent of the Senate having been obtained.

In all disputes regarding rights and laws, the Senate had to pronounce the final verdict.

The responsibility of the supreme administration was carried to the utmost extent. The Prince had the appointing of four Popetschiteli; of whom one presided over the Department of Foreign Affairs; another administered the Home Department; the third the Finances; and the fourth Justice and Education. These departments were kept entirely distinct from each other. Every act of the government had to be signed by one of the Popetschiteli. Annually, in March, they were required to submit to the Senate a report of all the business that had come before them in the course of the preceding year, with the necessary vouchers, in order that the details might be discusssed. The public

accounts were also to be placed before the Senate for examination.

This Senate, consisting of seventeen members, agreeing with the number of Nahies, was, it is true, to be nominated by Milosch; but it was then to be considered as a permanent body. No member could be dismissed, unless proved before the Sublime Porte to have been guilty of transgressing the laws.

What Louis XVIII., upon his entry into France, said of the project submitted to him by the Senate appointed by Napoleon—"the Senate would sit, whilst he, the King, would have to stand before them"—was in this case realized; though under circumstances widely different. A Senate, the members of which he had not the power of dismissing, was henceforth to restrict the independence of the Servian Prince within the narrowest possible limits; and was to possess the virtual authority.

The judges, also, could not be dismissed, any more than the Senators; unless charges brought against them should be legally established.

The other officials were no longer subject to the absolute sway that had hitherto existed: henceforth they could be punished only after solemn evidence of their guilt.*

Many other remarkable regulations, to be mentioned hereafter, were comprised in this Charter. At present we have only to bear in mind—and to this point attention was exclusively directed—that on its arrival in Servia, in the early part of the year 1839, Milosch was to be deprived of the absolute power which he at that moment enjoyed. The greater part of his authority was to pass into the hands of those whom he had hitherto regarded as his servants.

The change which took place was so sudden and so extensive, that, after the election of the Senate, which had been appointed under the Charter, Milosch could no longer exert any influence; being subject to the will of the members of the National Court of Justice; who even usurped his power of nominating the Senate. In the National Court of Justice they only had a seat who agreed on every point with the prescribed order of the Charter: viz., that those whom the

* In the Appendix, I have given the Charter, from an authentic translation.—TRANS.

Prince appointed must be men of wealth and distinction, and enjoying public esteem. The recollection of the rights of the Senate still continued to be connected with this tribunal.

The very men whom Milosch had last sent into exile, but who had since returned—Vutschitsch and Jephrem, leaders of the Opposition—were the first Senators nominated. Amongst the whole seventeen who were elected, there was not one who could be considered friendly to the Prince.

Nor was Milosch better pleased respecting the Ministry which he was to appoint. Abraham Petronievitsch, who may be considered as the principal author of the Charter in its latest form (but who had been on various points, in favour of the Constitution formerly agreed upon), was charged with the administration of Foreign Affairs. To George Protitsch —who, after the events of 1835, had been the first to encounter the vengeance of the Prince—was intrusted the administration of the Interior.

It may readily be imagined that the Knias, who for so many years had been accustomed to receive implicit obedience, found it quite insupportable to submit to this order of things.

To offer open and violent resistance was not, however, his usual mode of proceeding; and at this time it would have proved the less practicable, as the Powers had already sanctioned the Statute or Charter. It seemed more advisable for him to cause a movement, which might appear a voluntary one, and oppose to the ordinances of the higher Powers the wish and will of the nation; whose right of election had been guaranteed by the former Treaties.

Milosch had, in reality, no inconsiderable number of adherents amongst the peasantry: who were mostly indebted to him, and had suffered less by his tyrannical proceedings: being far removed from his influence. It was of no advantage to them that the officials whom he had hitherto restrained were to become independent: they were told, and they re-echoed the assertion, that they would henceforth have seventeen masters instead of one. Milosch hoped the peasants would rise in his favour, so soon as the slightest movement should be apparent.

But the clamour against him now burst forth in a thou-

sand accusations, just and unjust ; and people spoke of calling him to account for his expenditure of the public money. Either from apprehension that he was no longer safe, or animated by other hopes, Milosch suddenly passed over into the parlatorium of Semlin ; declaring that he would not return, unless his bitterest enemies, Jephrem and Vutschitsch, were removed, and he himself were entirely exonerated from accounting for the past. At length, however, he was persuaded to return without these concessions being granted. But at the same time, reports were spread that a movement, directed against the Charter, had commenced at Kragujevaz and in other remote places. Milosch offered to allay the excitement and bring the people back to reason ; but no one doubted that he himself had secretly kindled the fire ; and instead of his being allowed to take the field, at the head of the troops, a watchful eye was kept upon him.

Hence it could not be expected that the re-action would at its commencement prove successful. The legality of its position was in favour of the Senate. Milosch himself had to confer his princely power on Vutschitsch, to fight against the rebels ; and Vutschitsch now led the troops which were intrusted to him, far better than the hostile chiefs led theirs.

The adherents of the Prince, who had appeared in the field in considerable numbers, with artillery and cavalry, were encamped on an open part of the forest, when Vutschitsch surprised them. He closed up all the outlets by barricades of trees ; so that they could neither deploy their cavalry, nor bring their artillery to bear ; and having no provisions, they were obliged to surrender without resistance.

In the neighbourhood of Kragujevaz, Milosch's brother, Jovan, was taken prisoner, whilst employed in collecting more men. He did not deny that it was he who had brought the troops into the field, with the view of re-establishing the authority of his brother.

Under these circumstances, no one came forward in favour of Milosch. The senate had sent proclamations into all the Nahies, to stir up the people against him ; and Vutschitsch soon saw himself at the head of several thousand soldiers. With a choice of the most daring men—who might be con-

sidered as representatives of the whole army—he hastened back to Belgrade, determined to bring the affair summarily to an end. Halting at an inn, an hour's journey distant from Belgrade, the mother of a priest, who had recently been sentenced to death by Milosch, appeared with her hair dishevelled, demanding justice and revenge.

Some Senators advanced to meet the commander, and arranged with him the measures to be taken; and at the head of a victorious troop, ready for fresh acts of resistance, they all entered Belgrade.

After the first encounter, the horses of the vanquished cavalry had been led in triumph before the residence of Milosch; and the completion of his defeat was now announced to him by the removal of the guards from his house, and from that of his Consort.

For some time past, the Princess Ljubiza had sided with the opposition, rather than with her husband; from whose tyranny she also had been a sufferer. When Milosch called her attention to the fact, that, despite of her favouring his opponents, the guard of honour had been taken from her also, she burst into tears: she had never thought that affairs would proceed to such a length.

The adversaries of Milosch all agreed on one point: that he could no longer continue their Prince. Some even suggested that he should be put to death; as the only means of ensuring their safety. But others considered that it would be an everlasting disgrace to the nation, were they to sacrifice the man whom they had so long obeyed as their ruler; and they accordingly came to the determination that he should be sent into exile.

Vutschitsch, completely armed, and surrounded by Momkes, went to his house to inform him of this decision. He told him that the nation would no longer have him as its head: if Milosch wished it, he would call the assembled multitude, who would confirm his assertion. Milosch answered,—"If they no longer desire to have me, it is well: I will not obtrude myself further upon them."

Upon this, an instrument was drawn up, in which Milosch formally abdicated in favour of his eldest son.*

13th June, 1839. Given by Boué, iv. 359.

He uttered not a word, when, accompanied by some senators, who showed no personal enmity to him, he proceeded towards the Save, to cross over into the Austrian territory. Several of his attendants, and even some of the senators were moved to tears; and it was said that Vutschitsch wept on their departure, and that they left many behind sorrowing.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MICHAEL OBRENOVITSCH.

Causes of Milosch's Downfall.—His eldest Son, Milan, being in ill health, does not assume the princely Power.—Vutschitsch with others form a provisional Government.—Dissensions among them.—Michael, the second Son of Milosch, succeeds at the Death of Milan.—The Porte includes Vutschitsch and Petronievitsch in the Government.—Disturbances among the People.—Their Demands are acceded to in part.—Arrival of a Turkish Commissary.—He retires with some of the Malcontents.—Excellent designs of Stephen Raditschevitsch.—They excite much Opposition.—Complaints against the Government of Michael.—Family Disunion.—The Seat of Government is transferred to Belgrade.—General Discontent.—A Movement against Michael commences.—Vutschitsch rouses the People.—Temporary Successes of the Government.—Michael is, however, compelled by his Troops to negotiate.—Policy of Vutschitsch.—Michael refuses to grant his Demands.—His Troops disperse.—He is forced to retreat, and take refuge in Austria.—Vutschitsch enters Belgrade, and assumes the supreme Power.

Thus was overthrown a government raised up by the force of events, and which had, through its innate power, exercised the supreme authority.

It is evident that the Porte had regained her influence, in opposition to that spirit of independence which had already become externally offensive to her; by assisting a party (scarcely before heard of in Europe) in the victory it had obtained; by prescribing a charter which embraced all the departments of public affairs; and by directing her Pacha to see that it was carried into effect.

Though the assertion may seem paradoxical, we are not yet warranted in saying that a retrograde step had been taken in the path of emancipation from the Turkish power.

It is an undeniable fact, that Milosch was attached to notions which he had imbibed under the former rule; and, through his intercourse with so many Pachas, possessing unrestrained authority, he had attempted to reign according to the old unreformed system of the Ottoman Empire. It is one of the most remarkable combinations of circumstances, that the Porte herself, in conjunction with his adversaries, should have been compelled to impose laws restricting his power; which laws, however, had not been framed by her, but were based upon forms peculiar to the Western States.

We do not mean to assert that the opponents of Milosch were men advanced in civilization, or possessing peculiarly enlightened minds: but they adopted the Western ideas as a means for their own deliverance. What Milosch had neglected to perform, as Master and Prince—for he was more powerful under the ancient system—the Opposition now took upon themselves; since it was the course most conducive to their own personal advantage.

But public affairs had been so disturbed by these changes, that they could not speedily be brought back into a peaceful course of progress.

Correctly speaking, Milan, the eldest son of the exiled Prince—in whose favour Milosch had abdicated, and who, under the Hattischeriff, was unquestionably entitled to succeed him—never came into possession of his father's power. He was so ill at the time, that it was thought best to conceal from him his father's misfortune; and there was no difficulty in so doing: he was merely informed that the Prince had gone upon a journey on business, out of the country, and had left him behind as his representative. If at any time a congratulatory word reached his ear, he understood it was addressed to him only as holding that power temporarily; and he died without having known that he was Prince of Servia.

During this period, Vutschitsch, Petronievitsch, and Jephrem, carried on the government, with the sanction of the Porte.

A perfect understanding did not always exist amongst

them. At the first Skupschtina, assembled immediately after the abdication of the Prince, Jephrem had the mortification of finding that the salary formerly allowed him under his brother was to be much reduced: this he laid to the charge of his two colleagues; who, indeed, appeared unable to forget that they had once been compelled to kiss the hem of his brother's robe.

After Milan's death, the question arose, whether it would not be desirable to discard the family of Obrenovitsch altogether? Michael, a younger son of the prince, was still alive: but many persons considered the terms of the Berate did not imply that the succession had been expressly secured to him.

As yet, however, they knew not whom to elect in his stead. It is possible that the Porte might have accepted Petronievitsch, whom she knew to be her friend; or, the nation might have preferred Vutschitsch, who was admired for his bravery and heroism. But there were not sufficient grounds for the preference of one to the other; and as neither of them possessed a greater right to the succession than other leaders, most of the chiefs would have been dissatisfied at the selection.

The Senate at length determined, at the instance of Mileta, and Simitsch, to solicit that the young Michael should be their Prince.

For some time Milosch seemed to hesitate about parting with his son; but he finally consented.

The Porte did not object to this choice; though she availed herself of the opportunity afforded by the issue of a new Berate, to avoid mentioning the princely dignity as hereditary: and, indeed, we cannot ascertain that it was even stated to be for life.

This vestige of power, producing a change so much to her own advantage, the Porte conferred on the young Prince, who was then in Wallachia, by one of her chief officers; he was received in the handsomest manner when he came to Constantinople, and escorted to the Servian boundary by the same officer.*

On considering the general state of affairs, it seems possible that a peaceful and progressive government might then

Michael arrived on the 12th March, 1840.

have been called into existence; since the young Prince, not yet accustomed to the enjoyment of power, was resolved to rule according to the statutes. Moreover, his party had a majority in the Senate; and amongst the people, they who were attached to the name of Milosch, as well as those who were anxious for a relaxation of the severe regulations of the government, seemed well satisfied.

But difficulties immediately arose, with which the new administration had to struggle.

To ensure her friends against any sort of reaction, and to reward their zeal, the Porte judged it right to place by the side of the young Prince—although she had acknowledged him to be of age—the two powerful Chiefs, Vutschitsch and Petronievitsch, as official Counsellors: without whose consent he was not to perform any public act. Michael did not receive any intimation of this at Constantinople; it was only at Alexinaz, on the Servian frontier, that he was informed of the arrangement by the Effendi who accompanied him.

But did not the Porte herself, by this measure, open the way to a new contest? Some time previously the nation had been granted the right of electing their own magistrates; the nomination of functionaries had also, in the Charter, been granted to the Prince; and the creation of new offices to the Senate. What right, then, had the Porte to impose further restrictions on the Prince, (whose legal authority was already so much reduced,) by Counsellors who were thus thrust upon him?

Every one felt the injustice of this; and public opinion, which even in Servia had already become sensitive with respect to national rights, showed itself very unfavourable to the two chieftains.

The Senate was adverse to such an arrangement; and the elders of the villages, also, who had come to Belgrade to salute their new Master, being assembled according to their districts in the court-yard of the Senate-house, declared themselves against it, by a large majority.

Encouraged by this declaration, the avowed partisans of the former Prince came forward.

A large number of the peasants contended that they were better governed by one ruler, who had procured them peace, than by so many: all of whom would be desirous of amass-

ing riches at their expense. "One ditch," they were heard to say, "they had already filled; now, seventeen new ones were to be opened for them." Under the elders of the villages and the Kneses (though the Kneses rather inclined towards the other side,) armed crowds collected in many parts of the country, and made three demands: namely, the removal of the seat of government to Kragujevaz, where it would be safer and more independent than at Belgrade; a judicial prosecution against Vutschitsch and Petronievitsch; and, lastly, the recall of their former Prince.

The new government, principally led by Jephrem and George Protitsch, spared no pains for the suppression of this movement, which was far from being welcome to them: but their efforts were in vain. Protitsch, who himself went into the districts, was even detained by the peasants. At length, Michael returned the following answer:—that the recall of his father was a question which depended not upon himself, but upon the Porte; that whatever lay in his own power he would willingly do towards removing the seat of government back to Kragujevaz; and that as for bringing Vutschitsch and Petronievitsch to trial, they should either clear themselves or be subjected to punishment.

Thus, those who had even hoped to govern the country, saw themselves threatened with a trial; which, considering the prevailing feeling, might cost them their lives: they, therefore, judged it expedient to withdraw into the fortress, under the protection of the Pacha.

Some others, also, who, though not declared enemies of the Obrenovitsches, had always opposed them, began to fear the restoration of Milosch's authority: they refused to follow the government, which had now been actually removed to Kragujevaz; and also retired into the fortress. These were Stojan Simitsch, Garaschanin, Prota Nenadovitsch, Lasar Theodorovitsch, Stephan Stephanovitsch, and their adherents; all of whom were readily received by the Pacha, and taken under his protection.

At a Skupschtina at Toptschider the difficulties in which the government of Michael was involved, through the agency of these contending parties became apparent.

From Branitschevo, as well as from Uschize, the partisans of Milosch rose in open rebellion: they considered it to be

entirely the fault of Jephrem and Protitsch that their exiled Prince was not allowed to return; and they, in consequence, determined to overthrow them; and, in fact, to put them to death.

On the other hand, there appeared a Turkish Commissary, Musa Effendi, who demanded the re-establishment in office of the men who had taken refuge in the fortress, with full guarantee for their safety.

Even in Servia, a sort of *juste milieu* was necessary; not so much with reference to political opinions as to the opposing of personal interests: one party endeavouring to carry their point through the authority of the Porte, the other by means of a national rebellion.

At this juncture, the government of Michael displayed great force and energy.

Mitschitsch, the only one of the Kneses who, up to that time, had sought for the restoration of Milosch, appeared at the Skupschtina with a number of followers, who had no right to be present: he was compelled, not only to dismiss his people, but even to take part in an expedition which had been undertaken against the other rebels; who were easily dispersed without the occurrence of any serious collision. The men acknowledged that they had been misguided by their leaders, who were, therefore, made prisoners.

Nor were the demands of the Turkish Commissary complied with; he was told, with almost offensive abruptness, that, through the Hattischeriff, the Sultan had pledged himself that there should be no interference with the internal concerns of Servia. Musa Effendi, consequently, judged it advisable to remove from the country those who had sought refuge in the fortress, and to take them with him. Some of the refugees accompanied him only as far as Viddin: amongst the number, even an inoffensive poet; others went on to Constantinople, where they were maintained at the expense of the Porte: who, however, reserved to herself the right of obtaining a pecuniary settlement from Servia at some future period. Now, for the first time, the government of Michael was comparatively at ease: it had cleared away difficulties on both sides, and was consequently able to devote more attention to the promotion of the public welfare.

It would not be correct to say that the government had mistaken its duty; or, that it had not in reality thought of emancipating itself more completely from the Turkish system, and of advancing to a higher state of civilization.

Stephen Raditschevitsch, a right minded man, and not without abilities, was intrusted with the administration of Justice and Education. He was one of those Austrian-Servians who had entered the service of Milosch, because they despaired of improving their condition in their own country; and was much respected by the Servians, because he had, whilst holding an official station in Austria, become impressed with the necessity of an adherence to strict forms in the management of all public business. Many were the comprehensive schemes which he projected for the advantage of the country: his plans of improvement being founded chiefly upon what he had witnessed under the Austrian government.

It was his desire that the clergy should no longer live as the peasants lived; and he proposed that they should have houses built at the expense of their own congregations, and that their land should be cultivated for them.

He wished for the adoption of written proceedings in the Court of Justice, according to the Austrian custom. Investigations of the peasants' complaints were sometimes refused, in consequence of their inability to find writers, at the moment, to draw up the requisite statements.

Statistics now received due attention: but it was with alarm that the peasants saw their plum trees numbered: apprehending that taxation must be the object of such a measure.

The intentions of Raditschevitsch were excellent: he proposed to erect new schools, and not to rest until every Servian could read and write. Moreover, he aimed at the establishment of a society of learned men: and steps were already taken for promoting this desirable object: into this institution, however, persons who could neither read nor write were freely admitted.

With a view to the improvement of architecture, it was his intention, in the first place, to raise a mausoleum for the princely family. In order to cultivate a taste for music, operas were to be introduced, and a theatre was erected at

Belgrade: the Turks, however, soon complained, that plays were performed there in commemoration of exploits, such as those of Milosch Kobilitsch.

But these endeavours, better intended than considered, excited ill-will in several quarters. The natives, for instance, took offence at the employment of so many Austrian-Servians; though considering the notions people entertained of the government, their presence was decidedly serviceable; and because they betrayed something of German origin in their manners, they were reproachfully called *wise Suabians*. But many still more irritating circumstances occurred.

In the Matschwa, disputes ending in violence had arisen between the peasants: by severe measures they had been quieted; and proceedings were taken against the offenders, on many of whom corporal punishment was inflicted.

Not satisfied with this, the government sentenced those who had been punished to pay the expenses also; which payment was exacted with severity, and not without recourse being had to seizures. In some cases, unfortunately, the demand was excessive, and Raditschevitsch had to return a part of the amount levied. Those who had been distrained upon were extremely exasperated: they asked with bitterness, "Who would restore the cow that had been taken from them at the seizure?"

The government was blamed for allowing the Austrian dealers to make potash in the Servian forests; and in consequence of this permission, sanguinary fights occurred.

But what most displeased the peasants was that the Poresa was again increased. Originally that impost had been fixed at six *Austrian dollars* a year; and at the fall of Milosch—probably with the view of securing the support of the people rather than from a conviction that it would prove sufficient for the purposes of the State—it was reduced to *five dollars*. It could, therefore, produce no favourable impression upon the minds of the peasants that Michael should again exact the remitted dollar: for where is the country in which the excellence of the government is not estimated according to its cheapness? Another grievance was, that the government, at the same time, depreciated the value of the gold coin: the people felt it sorely, that their ducat, which they had taken

at *twenty-four* piastres, should be reckoned only at *twenty-three*, in their payments to the State.

Much discontent was thus accumulating against Michael's administration; and amongst that class from which the Obrenovitsches had formerly experienced the warmest sympathy: to the people it appeared that everything was again in the power of the officials; by whom he allowed arbitrary acts to be committed, to the prejudice of the nation.

In addition to this, the personal friends of the former Prince were unceasingly vigilant in their endeavours to produce a re-action. In the year, 1841, a conspiracy against the ministry was discovered, at the head of which stood Gaza Vukomanovitsch, the brother of the Princess. Ljubiza herself would much rather have seen her husband than her son in possession of the princely authority; she thought the latter would not be sufficiently strong to defend himself against rivals so formidable as those by whom he was threatened.

Much disunion existed in the family of Milosch.

Jovan was dissatisfied that no other appointment had been found for him than that of adjutant to his nephew. He wished to be Minister of the Home Department; but the government could not venture to intrust an office of so much importance to one who had played a conspicuous part in the revolutionary movements against the Charter. Jephrem, on the other hand, was fearful of being ruined in the first successful rising of his brother's friends; and did not feel secure at Kragujevaz, in its unfortified state.

Thus it happened, that the operations of the Turks, and of those disaffected Servians who had sought their protection, were not watched with sufficient diligence.

At the earnest request of the Porte, the malcontent fugitives were at length again received by their countrymen; in the first instance, those only who had been the least violent and conspicuous; but, ultimately Vutschitsch himself was allowed to return.

Michael suffered himself to be prevailed on to remove the government again to Belgrade within reach of the Turkish fortress. The Kmetés endeavoured to dissuade him from this step; urging that they should have more difficulty in assisting him, should he, at any future time, stand in need of

their services against the opponents of his government, who were in favour of the Turks.

From that quarter, however, Michael was under no apprehension. Having met the wishes of the Porte, he felt assured of her friendship. He relied upon the Pacha's word that Vutschitsch should be kept quiet; and when the ministers were informed that he was, nevertheless, fomenting disturbances, they seized the informants, under the impression that their depositions were false, and that they themselves were the persons who would cause disorder. Even were they to be attacked, they considered themselves secure, through the Charter: and they were heard to say, "the bullet is already cast which is to punish such a one."

The administration of Michael might rather be censured for its want of the vigilance and severity which characterized that of Milosch, than for the undue exercise of these qualities; consequently, the Turks hesitated less in advancing their claims, and were incessantly pressing some new demand.

Under these circumstances, the entire nation raised its voice against the men who had the guidance of the State. The returned malcontents beheld in them their greatest enemies, and refused to solicit appointments; which, after the reconciliation effected, would not have been solicited in vain. The officers and Kneses, who feared the return of Milosch, and the peasants and Kmetes, who probably still wished it, were equally their adversaries. No security was felt in any quarter; and the Senate itself expressed apprehension. Lastly, the Turks could no longer endure the peremptory refusals they had formerly met with, and still experienced: especially from Protitsch, who was in the habit of expressing himself very freely. A new Commissary of the Porte arrived; and with strong representations demanded the dismissal, not only of the determined Protitsch, but of the whole ministry.

Even Michael himself no longer entered fully into the views of his ministers: he was not altogether indisposed to dismiss them; but he wished to do so at a later period, and of his own free-will. Since the restrictions to which the chief authority had been subjected, he considered that the right of appointing and removing Ministers constituted the

best portion of its remaining power; and he by no means felt inclined to surrender it to the Turks without resistance. Least of all was he disposed to receive into his services *protégés*, whom he regarded as his enemies.

But by the opposition he evinced, the anger of the Turks was inflamed. Probably they also felt irritated, that the Bulgarians, who were desirous of participating in the privileges of the Servians, should have addressed themselves to Michael: who, though he did not encourage them, was the man on whom they had placed their hopes.

The Turks were, in fact, glad to perceive the progress of a movement likely to effect a change, or even an overthrow, of Michael's government.

For this the malcontents, who since their return had enjoyed the especial protection of the Turks, had long prepared themselves. They had, everywhere, friends amongst those in office, who were indebted to them for their independence.

Though Michael had not violated the Charter, they who had obtained it, and particularly their friends, distinguished themselves as "*Ustavo Branitelji*," (Defenders of the Law); a phrase which they had every moment on their lips, and which always produced a certain effect.

A movement now commenced: especially in such districts as were under the influence of Prota Nenadovitsch, Resavatz, Garaschanin, and Lasar Theodorovitsch: all of whom were of this party.

Nor was Vutschitsch slow in perceiving that his connexion with the Turks no longer prejudiced him in the eyes of the nation; that he could constitute himself the head of the united Opposition; and that those by whom he had been excluded from the government, would now be made to feel what he was capable of executing.

After having left Servia for a time, he returned to the neighbourhood of Smederevo. He hastened through the districts on an Arabian courser, which Resavatz had kept in readiness; and found his friends everywhere ready to assist him. A report spread through the country that a Skupschtina was on the point of being held, for the purpose of compelling the Prince to change his administration.

Michael was determined to resist this dictation, as also that of the Turks; and to oppose force to force.

He entertained no doubt that his party was still the most powerful; and without even taking time to secure Poscharevaz, or to furnish himself with the artillery of that place, he, on the night of the 19th of August, 1842, proceeded on his march to Kragujevaz, with a small, but regularly disciplined force of six hundred infantry and thirty cavalry.

He sent forth orders throughout the districts; and they were not ineffectual: auxiliary troops joined him in large numbers on his way; so that in a short time he assembled around him a force of ten thousand men. From all quarters favourable reports were raised: Prota and Lasar had been taken prisoners in their districts: Stephanovitsch and Jankovitsch, who had been endeavouring to rouse Poscharevaz and Smederevo, were obliged to make their escape into the Austrian territory; and the old Garaschanin, who had ridden through the district of Belgrade to stir up the people, was overtaken and slain. All these successes encouraged Michael in the hope of being able to rid himself of his principal adversary, Vutschitsch; who, though he had taken Kragujevaz, now stationed himself on a hill before the town with only two thousand men; and Michael expected, perhaps, even to seize him alive.

But civil commotions generally take their own peculiar turn.

These Servians, who would have undauntedly attacked a Turkish army, hesitated to fight against their own countrymen; and a favourable result was scarcely to be expected, whilst Michael's government enjoyed so little favour and authority.

When the troops beheld Vutschitsch they urged the Prince to send a deputation to him; which he accordingly did.

Vutschitsch exercised much tact in treating with the deputies. He represented to them, that he was far from desiring to oppose the Prince himself; who was as welcome to walk over his body as he was to walk over the ground: his only wish was to free him from unworthy ministers; he desired nothing farther than to proceed with his friends to Belgrade,

to lay his complaint before the Imperial Commissary. He then inquired whether "Rebel" was a proper designation for a man who declared himself ready to bring his cause before the judge.

Those who composed Michael's army soon began to discover that Vutschitsch was not altogether in the wrong; and the Prince found himself under the necessity of hearing his proposed conditions.

The three following were the most important: the dismissal of ministers, and also of Jephrem; the re-appointment of the men who had retired the year before; and the reduction of the Poresa. Vutschitsch did not neglect clearly to indicate to the people that he was chiefly actuated by anxiety for their interest.

Affairs had already proceeded so far, that Michael was advised, by his retinue, and even by Jephrem, to yield to necessity, and to grant the required conditions. But he felt it derogatory to his honour to give way to an open enemy, far his inferior in military force, and whom he yet hoped to conquer.

However, he misunderstood the character of his own nation.

Michael's soldiers disliked the idea of fighting against one who had professed that it was only his desire to change an administration of which they disapproved, and again to reduce their taxes; and that he had no wish to overthrow the Prince; therefore when Vutschitsch began to discharge his cannon, and the balls flew along over their heads, they rapidly dispersed.

Michael suddenly found himself alone with his troop of regulars, and was obliged to retreat.

Near Schabari, however, a numerous force from Poschega and Rudnik, estimated at about 15,000 men, once more assembled around him; but the very largeness of the number was rather a disadvantage than otherwise: as there were, no doubt, enemies amongst them. Vutschitsch, in the interim, had received from Resavatz a re-inforcement commanded by the Parakjiner Kapetan Bogdan, who was now regarded by the nation almost as a hero; and on their approach it required only the first sound of their cannon-balls to cause the army of Michael to disperse.

It soon became obvious how important it was to the Turks that the capital of the country, the seat of the government, was in their possession. Michael well knew that the Pacha favoured his enemies; and he would not, therefore, place himself within reach of the Turkish cannon. When the Russian consul, who came to meet him at Toptschider, advised him to retire into the fortress, he replied, "that he could not reckon upon protection where his enemies had been so warmly received."

Nothing then remained for Michael but to leave the country. To this his whole suite now advised him; and, being still young, it is probable that he looked forward to some future time, when fortune might prove more favourable, and reinstate him in his government.

Troops from different parts still came to meet him: having assembled for his support; but he sent them back to their homes. Seven days after he had left Belgrade, full of hopes, he, without re-entering that town, passed over into the Austrian territory at Semlin.

Protitsch, Raditschevitsch, and Mileta, whom he apprised of his leaving the country, hastened to follow his example.

Vutschitsch, on the other hand, entered victoriously into Belgrade. He now styled himself "Leader of the Nation," and, with the aid of his friends, assumed the supreme authority.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ALEXANDER KARA GEORGEVITSCH.—CONCLUSION.

A Provisional Government is formed, and the Skupschtina convened.—Alexander, Son of Kara George, chosen as Prince.—Vutschitsch exercises the supreme Authority.—General Increase of the Ottoman Power.—Views of Russia regarding the Election of Alexander.—Georgevitsch is re-elected.—Present State of Servian Affairs.—Review of the Servian Revolutions.—Probable Progress in the Civilization of the Country.—Effects of the Charter.—Islamism and the Spirit of the Western Countries opposed.—The Necessity of separating the Christians from the Turks.—Inhabitants of Servia.—Conclusion.

Thus, by an open attack, in which the Turkish authorities and the malcontents amongst the Servians united, had this question of personal supremacy been brought to a decision. If the Obrenovitsches had succeeded in their design, they would have attained a position resembling that of the families of the hereditary Pachas of Scutari and Uskub; whom, for centuries, no Grand Signior had been able to displace. But the son, the brothers, and the immediate adherents of Milosch, were expelled, as he himself had been. They could not agree amongst themselves: one worked against another, secretly or openly, which led inevitably to their total ruin, and gave their adversaries the ascendency.

The latter were determined never again to pursue a middle course; but to organise the government entirely according to their own views.

Whilst Michael complained, to the European Consuls who followed him, of the violence to which he had been subjected, without legal authority; the victors hastened, with the sanction of the Turkish commissary, to form a provisional government, in which Vutschitsch, Simitsch, and Petronievitsch, shared. They then convened a Skupschtina.

It must be recollected that, under Kara George, the Skupschtina, properly so called, served only to display the degree of authority which had established itself in the country, Under Milosch, the Skupschtina had always confirmed what he laid before them; and howsoever displeasing

it might be to him to have a Senate at his side, he would willingly have continued to reign with a Skupschtina in its accustomed form. Regular debates do not take place at these Diets; which resemble rather those *parlamenti* of the Italian cities in the middle ages, where the party happening to possess the ascendency dictated the law, to the exclusion of the conquered. No one would have ventured to enforce his own personal views, in opposition to the general opinion approved of by the existing rulers.

The Skupschtina, which assembled on the 14th of September, 1842, consisted chiefly of the adversaries of the Obrenovitsches: the very men by whom the victory had been gained.

A proclamation had, to some extent, prepared the public mind for the business to be brought forward. In that instrument it was alleged that the people, intending nothing more than to lay some complaints before the Effendi of the Grand Signior, had, on their way, been attacked by the Prince; that they had conquered him; and that he, in consequence, had fled the country.

When all were assembled, Vutschitsch made his appearance, accompanied by the Turkish Pacha and the Effendi. The parties present were asked, whether they were disposed to have the fugitive, Michael, any longer for their Prince? Kiamil Pacha himself put the question, in broken Servian, to the different parties. They all answered "No!"

And they were not at a moment's loss respecting whom they should set up in his place.

Had Kara George lived, it is probable that, long ere this, he would have demanded back from Milosch the principality which he had originally founded. But the very recollection of him was hateful to the Obrenovitsches.

The son of Kara George, Alexander, born during the decisive campaign of the year 1806, had, after his father's death, come into Servia, accompanied by his mother, where he was supported by a pension from Milosch. Hitherto he had been in the service of Michael, as adjutant. He was a young man of irreproachable character, cheerful disposition, and agreeable manners; and had not participated in the quarrels of the contending Chiefs. Vutschitsch had for some time pointed him out to his friends as their future Prince, and they had

without difficulty influenced the multitude in his favour. After the assembly had renounced Michael, Vutschitsch asked them, "Whom will you now have?" They all instantly exclaimed, "Kara Georgevitsch!" He was immediately led forward, and received with a general shout of joy.

Vutschitsch, who made himself Minister of Home Affairs, and was all powerful, took especial care not to fall into the same error which had proved so injurious to the late government, by suffering his adversaries to remain in the country. He was relieved from the presence of the more influential, by their own voluntary flight; and he judged it necessary to dismiss from their offices a large number of those who were less distinguished. He also removed those Kmetes whose authority and opinions were avowedly hostile. Others he kept prisoners; some he banished; and not a few, fearful of his power, fled beyond the frontier.

The Porte did not hesitate a moment in declaring Michael dethroned, without bringing him to trial, and without proceeding against him; and as promptly acknowledged the newly elected Chief to be Knias of Servia.

On the whole, she considered this epoch as one of renewed good fortune.

We have made no further mention of the quarrel of the Porte with Mehemet Ali, which broke out after the Russian war, (though it might in other respects be worthy of attentive consideration,) because it has too little immediate connexion with Servian affairs. In the year 1840, it had, at length, through the interference of the greater part of the European Powers, been decided in favour of the Porte.

Since that time, the self-confidence of the Porte had considerably increased. In Syria she no longer allowed the hereditary authority of the Emir Beschir, of the family of Schehab; which had become odious to her by changing from Islamism to the faith of the Maronites: it was even ordered that no one should again pronounce the name of this race. In Syria, in Crete, and also in Bulgaria, every description of atrocity was committed, with the view of re-establishing the dominion of the Porte. The resolution already taken, to have the Haradsch collected by the Christian chiefs, was again retracted. The Rayahs considered themselves happy when they did not suffer from violent outbreaks of ferocity

on the part of the Arnauts. Montenegro was several times attacked. In Wallachia, an opportunity presented itself for executing an act of supreme authority: the pronouncing sentence on a Gospodar, and dismissing him, with the consent of Russia.

The Ottoman authority was also generally increased, since the Porte had now succeeded in entirely removing from Servia the family which had resisted her influence, with a spirit of sturdy independence, and in raising to the management of affairs a party which had always shown itself favourably disposed towards her.

In these proceedings, however, the European Powers, especially Russia, no longer sided with the Porte.

The Emperor Nicholas declared that the Porte ought to have convicted Michael of the offence alleged to have been committed, and that she should not have undertaken to change the Government of the Principality without consulting Russia: least of all ought she to have sanctioned a rebellion, as she had here done; and for his part he could not acknowledge the change.

At length, after long hesitation, the Porte, confirmed from other quarters in the conviction that no one had a right to interfere with her affairs, ventured officially to countenance the change of government which had occurred in Servia. The Porte would not admit that this had been an act of rebellion; since it had been approved of by the Commissioners, whom she, as the Power in possession of the Sovereignty, had appointed; and she refused to allow any sort of encroachment on these her supreme rights.

At times it appeared likely that this determination would produce serious disputes, endangering the general peace.

It is unnecessary to collect all the fragmentary statements —many of them of doubtful authenticity—which have appeared, respecting the negotiations of the Powers in this matter.

They who are desirous of ascertaining the relations of the West with the East, and the reaction of Eastern on Western affairs, may examine the Egyptian question: for forming an opinion upon which sufficient materials exist in the events that are known to the world.

Austria coincided with the declaration of Russia, that the

concerns of Servia did not properly fall within the discussion of the Five powers. At the same time, she observed that the authority of the Porte would be annihilated on the Danube, were she forced to re-instate Michael merely to remove him after he should have been condemned.

In this case, as frequently happens in disputed questions, a middle course was taken for the sake of preserving peace.

Russia no longer insisted on the reinstatement of Michael: provided the election, which, after his flight, had been carried in a tumultuous manner, were not deemed valid; but that a new election, in a more regular form, should take place; and that the authors of the revolution, the Pacha Kiamil, as well as the two Servian Chiefs, Vutschitsch and Petronievitsch, should be deposed.

And thus matters were arranged. There was no difficulty in removing the Pacha from the country: instead of suffering a punishment by his removal, he was advanced to the Viziership of Bosnia; where, however, the Christian population have had no cause to feel grateful for his protection.

Some embarrassment, however, arose respecting the two native Chiefs.

When the election of the new Prince was to be made—for Kara Georgevitsch had been induced to resign his dignity *pro tempore*—the Russian Plenipotentiary was satisfied with the understanding that Vutschitsch and Petronievitsch should not take a direct part in the Skupschtina.

But whether they were personally present at this Assembly or not, its result could not be doubtful.

The Porte, by the force of her sovereign right, distinctly excluded young Michael, as one unacquainted with the mode of governing the country according to her views. Therefore, by the side of Kara Georgevitsch, there was no competitor with an equal claim to success but Milosch himself. It was natural that they who had come into power through the banishment of Milosch, should use their utmost exertions to prevent the return of that Chief; as in such an event they would have had strong reason to fear the loss of their authority; or even, as matters stood, the utmost personal peril. Neither was the majority of the nation at this moment in his favour.

We have remarked that the national feeling had become

lively, and easily excited. A report, prejudicial to Milosch, had spread, of his possessing the good opinion of the Courts. It was said at Belgrade, that those who desired any other Prince than the one who had been already elected—Alexander Kara Georgevitsch—might come and reinstate him by force; but such an undertaking would meet with resistance in a conflict for life or death. Anticipating commotion, the people began to prepare their arms.

Most likely, however, no one entertained the thought of forcing a Prince upon them. Measures were not even taken, preparatory to the meeting of the Skupschtina, to ensure the return of the parties who had gone into Austria:—a matter which might have been more easily carried out.

On the 15th of June, 1843, a free election was made. The Servians placed themselves according to their Nahies: as the Poles, at their elections, had at one time been accustomed to arrange themselves according to their Voivodeships. The new Pacha, the Consul, as well as the Plenipotentiary in the name of Russia, and the Metropolitan, went up to them, and asked them whom they desired for their Prince. The seventeen Nahies unanimously demanded Kara Georgevitsch. Several private individuals even were asked; and all returned the same answer.

Thus the Servian peasants did, in fact, maintain the right which had been granted at Akjerman; that of choosing their Prince. The two protecting Powers now declared themselves content with the election which had been made.

At first it seemed probable that the two Chiefs might remain in the country; for the Russian Minister did not, at the moment, demand their removal; but soon afterwards, the Emperor insisted on the complete fulfilment of his agreement with the Grand Signior.

Whilst the Porte had the satisfaction of finding herself freed from the presence of those whom she could not but regard as her enemies, the instruments who had served her were not, at least for the present, to enjoy the fruits of their exertions. The Servians were informed that the Prince whom they had elected would not be confirmed in power so long as Vutschitsch and Petronievitsch should continue in the country. Now, however great their authority might be, no one thought of exposing the Servian cause to fresh

dangers for their sake; and although the addresses offered to them could not have been couched in terms of greater sympathy or respect; yet they were obliged to leave the country.

Upon their removal, Kara Georgevitsch, "the distinguished among the Princes of the Mæsian people,"—for the Turkish Government favour such recollections,—was again confirmed Knias of Servia.

In reading the Berate, it is impossible to avoid remarking how earnestly and repeatedly allegiance to the Porte and close observance of the Ustav, containing the Charter, are indicated as the chief duties of the Prince. If he evince this allegiance, it is stated, he shall not again be deprived of his dignity. Senators and holders of office, and the nation at large, are directed to acknowledge him as their Prince, and to render obedience to the ordinances which he may issue in accordance with the Charter.

Thus it is seen that the Prince's right falls far short of the claim of the Obrenovitsches to hereditary and unlimited power. He is bound to conditions which might afford a pretext for arbitrary encroachments.

The experiences of late years lead us to believe that the Porte will not venture on any encroachment: at least on her own responsibility. Setting this aside, however, it cannot be asserted that the present position of Servian affairs is such as to inspire much confidence.

A Prince who is not indebted to his own meritorious acts, or even to his ambitious views, for his elevation; whose claims rest merely on some remembrance of the past; and who, at the moment when he attained the highest dignity, was deprived of the support of those by whom he had been raised to it, must assuredly, even though that support should be restored, have eventually to struggle with the reaction of the party overthrown; who, as their frequent movements prove, are still numerous and influential in the country.

Occasionally we observe a still stronger opposition between communities and the peasantry; who, in the last disturbances, not only asserted their old privileges, but acquired new ones. They might, perhaps, have entertained the idea of forming a self-elected government, or a party of their own, against official rulers, whom they considered forced upon

them ; but who, in reality, under whatever form it may be, constitute the state.

In addition to all this, external influences were at the same time in operation : influences frequently in opposition to each other, and proceeding no longer exclusively from the neighbouring inland Powers, but also from the Western nations, whence the prevailing ideas were derived.

Under such circumstances, the fundamental law (the Charter), to which an absolute autocrat would not submit, presents, perhaps, a fortunate state of things to his less powerful successor ; it establishes the unity of the nation on a broader basis, and gives a firmer guarantee for the distribution of the power : provided always that it be not used as a pretext for personal enmity.

If the Servians unite earnestly, for the purpose of carrying this law into effect, so that it shall take root amongst them, and be carried out peacefully, it may be always considered as a great means for the advancement of the nation—a fresh step on the road to emancipation.

This subject has already been alluded to, and we may be allowed, in conclusion, once more to touch upon it.

In order to have a general view of the question, let us, in the first instance, recollect the state in which we found the country, in its internal and external relations, and what it has acquired since the commencement of the revolutionary disturbances.

The difference is immense.

Every thing turns upon this fact, that the immediate domination of the soldier-caste, resting on the prerogatives of their religion, has been discontinued in this province. The Grand Signior no longer exacts the capitation tax : which he regarded as a redemption from the penalty of death incurred by unbelief ; the Spahis no longer enjoy a distribution of the village lands amongst them ; the Turks are restricted to the fortresses. It was at first understood that none of them should be allowed to reside outside the fortified works. This is the case at Schabaz and Kladavo ; and so it was expected to have been at Belgrade. At one time, the Turks began to dispose of their possessions there, and to prepare for emigration ; but they soon received orders from Constantinople to desist, as the whole town was considered to be a fortress :

they, therefore, remained at Belgrade in considerable numbers. But, although under Turkish jurisdiction, there is no possibility of the Spahis enforcing any of their ancient personal prerogatives, and many veterans must now condescend to perform manual service in Christian habitations.

It must not be forgotten that this independence was not, in reality, acquired through a rebellion against the Sultan; but in the course of a contest originally undertaken against his rebels: so far, therefore, the Servians asserted a well-founded claim, though at the cost of a most sanguinary war.

But this was not enough.

The national spirit, as expressed in their songs, assisted greatly in kindling the flames of war; though it was not adequate to the founding of a state, or to the liberation of a people from the spiritual domination of the Ottomans.

The Sultan himself in some measure conduced to the amelioration of their condition by granting the Charter; which in its main points rests on the received principles of Western States. And that he might overthrow a dominion which he disliked, but which still retained many analogies to the old Turkish system, he ordered regulations to be proclaimed under his authority, by which the work of emancipation was continued.

It is our province to consider, not so much the establishment of forms of government, as the general tendencies of the civilization attained.

It may be questionable whether the restrictions by which, as we have mentioned, the Prince's power was limited, are in all respects beneficial, and likely to be permanent; but there can be no doubt that restrictions of some sort were necessary. It was contrary to the nature of things that the entire public authority, such as the Pachas had possessed in the unreformed empire, should be transferred to a Christian Knes. The very idea of this power, as it had hitherto been exercised, was offensive; and they had always been anxious for its suppression.

This was now effected, in the case of functionaries. Still, as before stated, the most barbarous Mongolic customs prevailed. The Ustav first had to declare that the holders of offices should not be subjected to corporal punishment; a

proper arrangement of the authority being altogether impossible, so long as such arbitrary power in the promotion and degradation of officers was allowed to exist. Unless a change in this respect were introduced, no true sense of honour, no endeavour to merit distinction or reward could be expected.

We need not enlarge on this subject for the purpose of proving that the development of a civil power among the people could not be hoped for, so long as the outrages which prevailed were suffered to remain unchecked, and personal security was wanting. Sooner or later this leading principle must be earnestly promulgated: and it would be well if a greater interest in upholding it were manifested.

The same remark equally applies in reference to property; with respect to which it has been seen that flagrant violations were still practised, according to Oriental custom, through the ruling power. The Ustav decreed that property could be sold, and entailed upon others, without the interference of any but the judicial power. It was a regulation of great importance, that title-deeds should be drawn up, and entered in the public registers; as this insured the property of every landholder.

The first foundations of a Commonwealth had yet to be strengthened.

The separation of the Departments of Administration and of Justice, which now took place, may be thought to indicate a greatly advanced condition of society; yet that proceeding had in Servia a signification, different from that usually ascribed to it in our own country. It must be recollected with what violence Pachas and Musellims, in former times, had encroached upon the Turkish jurisdiction; and, at a later period, the Knias and his functionaries upon the Servian. Under the pretended sanction of the Supreme Judicial Power, the general insecurity had increased. This separation had, therefore, become an absolute necessity. In other respects, the regulations made under Kara George and Milosch, regarding the administration of justice, were retained in the Charter; excepting that the various Courts were separated, and their duties more strictly defined.

But everything acquired another character by the following restrictions:—that no member of a Court of Justice

could hold an office in the political administration; and that a political functionary was not allowed to assume the exercise of judicial power. If, for instance, a dispute should arise relating to the re-assessment of the taxes on the various households, the cause would be decided by the Court, and the officer would be commissioned to execute the sentence pronounced.

The same rules are observed with reference to commercial affairs. Those arbitrary restrictions which Mladen and Miloie, and also Milosch, adopted, after the example of the Janissaries and their leaders, were no longer practicable. They rested on Eastern notions—notions which, in our times, the Viceroy of Egypt still acts upon successfully. But they are more justifiable there than in Servia, on account of the connection of the population with industry and the cultivation of the land, and the extraordinary position Egypt occupies in the world. In Servia they only served to render personal superiority more keenly felt, and more odious. The Charter makes regulations of this nature dependent on the understanding subsisting between the Prince and the Senate; so that in this respect also, it puts an end to arbitrary actions. And it is understood that a better, because a freer, development of energy is already beginning to show itself.

Thus, in this Turkish land, the idea of government authority, which pervades all classes, has been altogether changed. The nation has freed itself from the heavy yoke under which it laboured; the Rayahs have become a nation, Yet, though those fundamental principles which are absolutely essential may differ from the outward form in which they are manifested, still this change is of great importance. It rests upon the fact, that it was the Opposition who at last carried the great measure, and not the Prince, as at first appeared. It can hardly be denied, that this circumstance has mainly contributed to its success.

But, even in the event of affairs not always remaining in the same state, and the question of personal rights being once more decided in some other way, no fear need be entertained of retrogression or of deviation from the course now entered upon. It is as likely that the Turkish rule should be restored, as that any government framed on its model and

example should ever be established. Should fortune once more favour the Obrenovitsches they would not be able to effect this; nor is it probable that they would make the attempt.

It would be hazardous to assert, that, at some future time, a stronger monarchy, or, perhaps, even a still more republican form of government—possibly under the elders of the nation alone, as in former times—may not be established; but neither the former, nor much less the latter, would revert to the principles of the old Turkish system: they could not destroy the elements of education, which have in some measure taken root.

The spirit of reform in the West is far too powerful, and its secret or open advance too universal, to admit of its ever being deprived of the results of that ascendency which it has begun to acquire in Servia: giving a fresh impulse and introducing new ideas.

This progress of the West towards the East has again taken a prominent part in the aspect of the world.

Islamism continues to be, as it has been for twelve centuries, the most inflexible adversary to the Western spirit; and in those countries where it is embraced by the entire population from Bokhara to Morocco — excitement and hostility prevail; but in the interior of the Turkish territory its antagonism is displayed in the most energetic manner.

Though the Porte, driven along in her own course, and not uninfluenced by the spirit of the age, has granted meliorations to the Christian inhabitants; she has her Islamite subjects too little under control, and still adheres too closely to the leading religious principles of her domination, to expect that affairs may in this way be brought to a conclusion.

So long as the Porte shall maintain the exclusive prerogative of the followers of Islam to conduct military and state affairs; so long as that stubborn selfishness, which regards the masters from whom they obtained instruction as infinitely below themselves, shall remain unsubdued; and so long as their fanaticism shall continue to be nourished by events; outrages will incessantly be renewed, and the simplest and most rightful claims of the Christian population will be allowed to remain unheeded. If such obstacles impede the

improvement of the Turks, how much more pitiable is the condition of the poor helpless Rayahs, who are as uncivilized as themselves!

The spirit of modern times, which operates only by political means, does not aim at the annihilation of Islamism, either by conversion or force. Still we are perfectly right in restraining it within due limits; and we are fully justified in endeavouring to prevent the followers of the Christian religion from being trampled on, simply because they are Christians.

This view of its result constitutes the deep interest excited by the Servian emancipation: an interest which extends far beyond the boundaries of that country.

We need only cast our eyes around, and glance at the other Servian tribes in Bosnia and Herzegovina; at the nearly-related Bulgarians; or direct them towards Syria, to the Christian inhabitants of the Lebanon; in order to estimate correctly the value of what has been effected in Servia.

It is impossible to avoid observing, how much still remains to be desired in her present condition. One thing, if we may be allowed to give our opinion, is especially wanting—the development of a more elevated tone of morality. The highest problems of moral and intellectual life which ennoble mankind have not yet been solved in this Country. The worst consequence of this barbarous subjugation is, that it does not conduce to an awakening to the consciousness of moral duties.

Yet much has been achieved: the foundation of another state of things has been laid, and a noble prospect for the future has been opened. An example has been given which it is eminently desirable should be followed in the other provinces.

What is most necessary everywhere is a separation of the two populations; whose entire relation has undergone so thorough a change, that it can never again become what it was.

Even personal intercourse, inasmuch as it may still serve to keep alive former ideas of the domination of the one and the servitude of the other, should henceforth be avoided. The Christian nations must obtain an administrative and

judicial independence; which may insure them a development consistent with their original state, and in accordance with the doctrines of that religion which animates them as well as ourselves.

In stating this, we of course assume that the European Powers will continue willing to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire; and that no events which are now beyond human foresight, will occur to disturb it.

The eternal destinies of all nations are in the hands of the Omnipotent; and the decrees of Providence, alike unfathomable and irresistible, will be accomplished, in their due course of fulfilment.

APPENDIX.

December, 1838.

STATUTE IN THE SHAPE OF A FIRMAN, GRANTED BY HIS HIGHNESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF SERVIA.

[From the Translation printed by order of Parliament.]

To my Vizier Mouhliss Pasha (may he be glorified), and to the Prince of the Servian Nation (Milosch Obrenovitz), may his end be happy.

IN virtue of the privileges and immunities granted to the inhabitants of my province of Servia, on account of their fidelity and of their devotion, and in conformity with the tenour of several hatti-sheriffs issued previously and at different dates on my part, it has become necessary to grant to the said province an internal administration, and a stable, special, and privileged national statute, on condition that the Servians punctually discharge for the future the duties of fidelity and obedience, and pay exactly at the appointed periods to my Sublime Porte the tax, whereof the exaction has been fixed and determined upon.

In conformity, then, with the organic statute which I have just granted to the Servian nation, the dignity of Prince is conferred upon thee and upon thy family in recompense of thy fidelity and of thy devotion, and agreeably to the contents of the Imperial berate which thou hadst previously received.

The internal administration of the province is entrusted to thy faithful care, and 4000 purses of annual revenue are assigned unto thee for thine own disbursements. I confide unto thee, at the same time, the appointment of the different officers of the province, the execution of the established regulations and laws, the chief command of the garrisons necessary for the police and for preserving from all infraction the good order and tranquillity of the country; the duty of levying and receiving the public taxes and imposts, of giving to all the officers and functionaries of the province the orders and directions for their conduct which may be requisite; of inflicting the punishments to which the

guilty shall have been condemned according to the regulations; and I grant unto thee the right of pardoning, under suitable limitations, or, at least, of modifying the punishments.

These powers being entrusted unto thee, thou wilt consequently possess the absolute right, for the good administration of the country and of the inhabitants, whereof the duties are imposed upon thee, to select, nominate, and employ three persons, who, placed under thy orders, shall form the central administration of the province, and shall occupy themselves, one with the affairs of the interior, another with the finances, and a third with the legal affairs of the country.

Thou shalt constitute a private chancery, which shall be under the direction of thy lieutenant, the Pristavnik, whom thou shalt charge with the delivery of passports and with the direction of the relations subsisting between the Servians and the foreign authorities.

There shall be formed and organized a Council composed of the Primates and of the persons of the greatest consideration among the Servians.

The number of the members of this Council shall be seventeen, one of whom shall be the President. No person who is not a Servian by birth, or who shall not have received the character of a Servian in conformity with the statutes, who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, or who is not in possession of real property, can form part of the national Council, nor be reckoned among the number of its members.

The President of the Council, as well as the members, shall be selected by thee, on condition that they be perfectly well-known among their fellow-citizens, by their capacity and their character for rectitude, for having rendered some services to their country, and for having merited general approbation. After the selection of the members of the Council and their nomination, and previously to their entrance into office, each and all of them, beginning with thyself, shall swear in the presence of the Metropolitan that they undertake to do nothing contrary to the interest of the nation, to the obligations which their offices impose upon them, to those of their conscience, or to my Imperial will; the sole duty of the Council will be to discuss the public interest of the nation, and to afford unto thee its services and its aid.

No statute shall be adopted, no new tax levied without its having been in the first instance and previously adopted and approved by the Council. The allowances of the members of the Council shall be fixed by thee, by common consent and in a suitable manner, and when they shall have met together in the place where the central administration of the principality is fixed, the circle of their activity shall be confined and limited to the following matters.

To discuss and decide upon questions and matters concerning the institutions and laws of the country, justice, taxes, and other contributions.

To fix the allowances and emoluments of all the servants of the country, as likewise to create new offices if there should be occasion for them.

To estimate the expense annually requisite for the administration of the country, and to deliberate upon the means most suitable and best adapted for imposing and levying the contributions by which the expenditure is to be met.

And, finally, to deliberate upon the compilation of a law which shall specify the number, the pay, and the service of the national troops entrusted with the maintenance of good order and tranquillity in the country.

The Council shall have the right of drawing up the draft of any law which shall appear to it to be beneficial, and of submitting it after the President and Secretary of the Council shall have affixed their signature thereto ; on condition, nevertheless, that such law in no way affects the legal rights of the Government of my Sublime Porte, which is master of the country. In the questions debated in the Council, the decision which shall have had in its favour the majority of voices, shall be adopted.

The council shall have the right to demand every year, in the course of March and April, from the three directors above-mentioned, a summary of their proceedings during the course of the year, and to examine their accounts.

The three high functionaries, directors of Internal Affairs, of the Finances, and of Justice, as likewise the director of the chancery, so long as they exercise their functions, shall form part of the Council, after having taken the oath. The seventeen members of the Council cannot be dismissed without cause, unless it shall be made evident to my Sublime Porte that they have been guilty of some offence or infraction of the laws and statutes of the country.

There shall be chosen and nominated from among the Servians a Kapu Kiaja, who shall continue to reside at my Sublime Porte and carry on the affairs of the Servian nation, in conformity with my sovereign intentions, and with the national institutions and privileges of Servia.

Attributes of the three Functionaries designated above.

The affairs of the police, and of the quarantine, the transmission of the Prince's orders to the authorities of the districts of the country, the direction of the establishments of public utility and of the post, the repair of the high roads, and the execution of the regulations respecting the troops of the country, shall all be

within the province of the officer charged with the affairs of the Interior.

The officer charged with the administration of Finance will have to revise the accounts, to make commerce prosper, to look after and manage the public revenue, the amount of which shall be fixed by the laws of the country, to cause the laws with regard to commerce and financial affairs to be carried into effect, to settle the expenses of the country according to the accounts drawn up by the other officers. He will take care to keep the register of the public and private property, as well as of the real estates both of the country and of the Government, and of the management of the mines and of the forests, as also of the other affairs which relate to his department.

The director charged with the administration of Justice having also within his province the Department of Public Instruction and the diffusion of science, will have to examine and watch whether the sentences which have been passed have been executed or not; to hear and write down the complaints which may be made against the judges; to examine the qualification of those who are called upon to administer justice, and to cause them to deliver to him every three months, the return of all the causes which have been decided during that period; to interest himself in the state and in the condition of the prisons, and to improve them. He will also occupy himself in forming the public character by the establishment of new schools, and in encouraging instruction in necessary knowledge. He will have to inspect the hospitals and other establishments of public utility; and will put himself in correspondence with the administrators of the churches for the purpose of regulating all that relates to religion, to worship, and to the churches.

No person who is not a Servian by birth, or who may not have been naturalized, according to the fundamental laws of the country, as a Servian, can hold any of the three situations abovementioned.

The three directors in question shall be independent of each other in the exercise of their respective functions, none being subject to the other, and each shall have his office apart from the others.

The department of each of them shall be divided into several offices and sections, and every official paper emanating from any one of them on State business must be signed by each respectively, and, moreover, any case which may come within the province of the departments belonging to them respectively, cannot be acted upon without having been previously countersigned by the head of the department; and, in like manner, no order and no case can be acted upon without having been

previously entered and registered in the books of the office to which they belong.

The three directors must, in the months of March and April in each year, make an abstract of all the business which has been carried on in their own offices and in those which are subordinate to them, with a statement in detail; and present it, signed and sealed by them, as well as by the heads of departments, to be examined by the council of the province.

Composition of the Tribunals for Legal Matters.

It is my express will that the inhabitants of Servia, subjects of my Sublime Porte, shall be protected in their properties, their persons, their honour, and their dignity; and this same Imperial will is opposed to any individual whatever being deprived, without trial, of his rights of citizenship, or exposed to any vexation or punishment whatsoever; wherefore it has been judged consistent with the laws of social wants and with the principles of justice, to establish in the country several kinds of courts, in order to punish the guilty or to do justice to every individual, public or private, in conformity with the statutes, and after the right and justification, or, on the contray, the fault and the criminality of each, shall have been decided by a trial.

Accordingly, no Servian shall be exposed to the law of retaliation, or to any other punishment, corporal or pecuniary, that is to say fine, before that, in conformity with the terms of the law, he shall have been tried and condemned before a court. The established courts shall take cognizance, according to law, of matters under litigation of commercial disputes, and shall examine into and determine upon definitively crimes and offences; and in no case shall the punishment or confiscation of property be inflicted.

The children and kinsmen of the guilty shall not be responsible for the fault of their fathers, nor punished for them. Three Courts are instituted for the administration of justice in Servia.

The first shall be established in the villages, and composed of the old men of the place, and called Court of Peace.

The second shall be the Court of First Instance, established in each of the seventeen districts of which Servia is composed.

The third shall be the Court of Appeal at the seat of Government.

The Court of Peace of each village shall be composed of a President and two Assessors, elected by the inhabitants of the place; and each of these village Courts shall not have cognizance of any matter above 100 piastres. Furthermore, they shall not inflict punishments exceeding an imprisonment of three days and ten blows. Causes can only be there pleaded and decided upon

summarily and verbally. The sentences of the two other Courts alone shall be drawn up in writing. The village Court must send before the Court of the district of which it forms part, a suit of more than 100 piastres, and the trial of a charge which involves a punishment of more than ten blows; and likewise the plaintiff and the defendant.

The district Court, which is to take cognizance in the first instance of a case, shall be composed of a President, of three Members, and a sufficient number of Registrars. The President and the Assessors of the Court of First Instance, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, shall not be entitled to be thereunto appointed. This Court shall have the right of examining into, and determining upon, as well law-suits as crimes, offences, and commercial disputes.

A delay of eight days shall be allowed to every person who, having lost his suit before the Court of First Instance of his district, may be desirous of appealing from it to the Court of Appeal. And if, within the space of eight days, the said person who has lost his suit shall not have appealed to the Court of Appeal, the sentence of the district Court shall be valid and carried into effect. The Court of Appeal shall only have exclusive cognizance of the revision and decision of the causes and disputes which shall have already been brought before the Court of First Instance, and both the President of the Court of Appeal and also the four Members who shall be associated with him, must absolutely be thirty-five years old.

The members of the Servian Courts must be Servians by birth, or naturalized as such, in conformity with the statutes. As regards the suits which are carried from one Court to another, the President of each Court must deliver to the plaintiff and to the defendant an abstract of the sentence, under his hand and seal.

The members of the village Courts of Peace cannot be members of the two other Courts. If one of the members of these two Courts should die, his successor must be chosen from among the lawyers who shall have held offices in the Courts; and among these the senior in age or service shall be appointed in his turn.

No member of the Court shall be dismissed on the charge of having deviated from his duties before the matter shall be legally proved according to the statutes. When officers, having military or civil rank, or priests, after their crime shall have been solemnly proved in consequence of a judgment according to the statutes, shall have been condemned to be punished, as corporal punishment cannot be inflicted on these persons, they shall be punished, either by severe reprimand, or by imprisonment, or by degradation, or, finally, by banishing them to another place. No officer of the principality, civil or military, high or low, shall take part in the

business of the three Courts aforesaid, but they shall only be called upon to execute their sentences.

Commerce being free in Servia, every Servian may freely exercise it, and the slightest restriction upon that freedom shall never be allowed; unless the Prince, however, in concert with the council of the country, should deem it a matter of urgency to impose a temporary restriction upon some article or other.

Every Servian, acting in conformity with the laws of the State, is at full liberty to sell his own goods and properties, to dispose thereof at pleasure, and to bequeath them by will. He cannot be deprived of this right, except by a legal sentence of one of the Courts established in the country.

Every Servian who shall have a law-suit, must have recourse to the Court of the district which he inhabits; he can only be summoned before the Court of the district in which he resides.

All forced labour is abolished in Servia, and no forced labour shall be imposed upon any Servian.

The expense occasioned by the maintenance and keeping in order of the bridges and highways shall be apportioned among the municipalities of the villages in the neighbourhood.

In like manner as the central administration of the principality is entrusted with the direction and care of the main post-routes, of the bridges, and other buildings of public utility, individuals must also know that it is necessary on their part to direct their own zeal and attention to that object.

Thou shalt fix, in concert with the Council, and equitably, a daily payment for the poor who are employed on these works; in the same manner as thou shalt agree with the members of the Council to assign fixed annual salaries to all those who are employed in the different services of the principality of the country.

Any officer who, for a legal cause, shall be desirous of retiring after a certain number of years' service, shall be at liberty to do so; the suitable pension which he shall have deserved, shall be assigned to him after his retirement.

Every employment, whether civil, military, or judicial, shall be conferred in Servia by an ordinance of the Prince, on condition that every officer shall, in the first instance, commence by the lower ranks, and shall be progressively, and after having been tried, promoted to the superior ranks and employments.

Lawyers entrusted with judicial offices shall never be at liberty to change the nature of their employment, and to occupy places other than those in the courts, and devoting themselves exclusively to their improvement in judicial matters. No civil or military officer shall be employed, even temporarily, in the courts.

The Servian Rayahs, tributary to the Sublime Porte, being Christians of the Greek religion, otherwise called the Church of the East, I grant to the Servian nation full liberty to observe the usual forms of their religion, and to choose from among themselves, with thy concurrence and under thy superintendence, their archbishops and bishops; provided that they shall be subject to the spiritual power of the patriarch residing at Constantinople, considered as the head of the religion and of its synod. And as in virtue of the privileges and immunities granted, of old, to the Christian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire since the conquest, the administration of the affairs of religion and of the Church, as long as it does not interfere with political matters, should belong entirely to the heads of the clergy; as likewise the assignment on the part of the nation of the allowances to their metropolitans, bishops, igouménés, and priests, as well as to the religious establishment belonging to the Church; the same rule shall be observed with regard to the allowances and preferment of the metropolitans and bishops in Servia. Places shall be appointed for the meeting of the Special Council of metropolitans and bishops for the purpose of regulating religious affairs, the affairs of the metropolitans and bishops, as well as those of the priests; and those relating to the churches of the country.

The sipahiliks, the timars, and the ziamets, having been abolished in Servia, this old custom shall never be introduced there for the future. Every Servian, great or small, is liable to the payment of taxes and contributions. The Servians of a certain rank employed in the business and in the offices of the country, shall pay their quota in proportion to the property and lands which they possess; the clergy alone shall be exempted from the payment of taxes. Servia being composed of seventeen districts, and each district comprising several cantons, which, again, are composed of several villages and municipalities, each head of a district shall have an assistant, a clerk, a treasurer, and other officers who may be required. The chiefs of districts shall occupy themselves with the execution of the orders which may reach them from the central Government of the principality relating to all the affairs of internal administration which belong to their functions; they will confine themselves to imposing and levying the contributions according to the registers which they will receive from the Finance Department; and they will not meddle with the disputes to which the levy of the taxes in their districts may give rise, but they will content themselves with referring to the district Court the disputes and law-suits which take place, reserving to themselves only the execution of the sentence of the Court.

The chief of a district shall employ his efforts for the preserva-

tion of the goods and lands of the villages from all injury, and for the protection of the people from evil-disposed persons, and from vagabonds, and from persons without character. He must inspect the passports of all persons arriving within his district, or departing from thence; he cannot keep a person in prison beyond twenty-four hours; but he will send to the district Court the differences and suits which may arise in his district, and apply to the head of the police of the district, if the differences are matters of police. He must, moreover, watch over the village Courts of Peace, and be careful not to meddle with the affairs of the churches and village schools, nor touch the revenues and lands which depend on other pious establishments. As regards the lands and properties assigned to the churches, boroughs, inhabitants, and establishments of public utility, as well as those belonging to individuals, there shall be delivered to each separately, documents establishing the right of property, and these shall, moreover, be registered in the offices of the country.

Every Servian, in general, and without exception, shall be exempt from prosecution and molestation, covert or open, before he has been cited and tried before the Courts.

My Imperial will having settled and established the aforesaid regulations, this Imperial firman has been drawn up expressly in order to communicate them unto thee, and has been sent unto thee decorated with my illustrious Imperial signature. I order thee, therefore, to watch over the security of that Imperial province, as well internally as externally, having entrusted the rule thereof to thee and to thy family only on the express condition of obedience and of submission to the orders proceeding from me, to ensure the prosperity thereof, to employ thy efforts to devise means for securing to all the inhabitants repose and tranquillity, to respect the position, the honour, the rank, and the services of each; and, above all, to take care that the clauses and statutory conditions above expressed are carried into execution wholly and for ever, thus applying all thy zeal to draw down upon my Imperial person the prayers and blessings of all classes of the inhabitants of the country, and in this manner to confirm and justify my sovereign confidence and benevolence towards thee.

In like manner, I enjoin all the Servians in general to submit themselves to the orders of the Prince, acting in accordance with the statutes and institutions of the country, and carefully to conform themselves to what is necessary and fitting. I command that this Imperial Hatti-Sheriff be published, in order that the nation may have cognizance thereof; that every one, impressed more and more with gratitude for these concessions and benefits granted by my sovereign munificence to all alike, shall conduct himself under all circumstances in such a manner as to merit my

approbation ; and that the clauses of the present statute be executed, word for word, and for ever, without any infringement thereof at any time.

And thou likewise, my Vizier, thou shalt so understand it ; and thou shalt join thy efforts to those of the Prince for the exact and strict execution of this present Imperial firman.

A FEW PAGES ON BOSNIA.

A FEW PAGES ON BOSNIA.*

INTRODUCTION.

For half a century has the Eastern Question been one of the greatest moment in relation to European politics; and it has been continually increasing in importance.

Of late years, indeed, it has acquired a new interest. The reforms which had long been contemplated, and once or twice attempted, in the Ottoman Empire, have at last been accomplished; and thence has arisen a ferment in its social elements, which is worthy of close examination on its own account; independently of the reaction it must necessarily cause in great political interests.

For a considerable time past other nations have left to the English the task of furnishing information respecting the condition of remote parts of the world. Thus our knowledge of the course and the workings of these Ottoman reforms is derived principally from two English travellers, Adolphus Slade and David Urquhart.

It is very agreeable to meet with a narrator who enables us, whilst sitting comfortably at home, to participate in some degree in all he sees and encounters, and who amuses and informs, without wearying us. Slade has keen and subtle powers of observation; he possesses the talent of reproducing things and setting them vividly before our eyes; he abounds in striking anecdotes, but not to excess; at the same time he appears to be of a shrewd, sarcastic turn; never omitting an opportunity of making a caustic remark. We

* Translated from Ranke's "Die Letzten Unruhen in Bosnien," 1820–1832.

accompany him with lively and unflagging enjoyment throughout his whole journey.*

Urquhart does not describe his travels: he sums up their results. He is much less amusing, but more scientific. His attention is particularly directed to the rural municipalities, to some hidden springs of the internal Administration, and to the commercial resources of the Empire. He is, perhaps, deficient in accurate knowledge of the past history of those countries; but he has a clear insight into their present wants, and takes a sincere and warm interest in their future welfare.†

Unlike in manner and spirit, these books differ also in their conclusions. Slade condemns, Urquhart approves of Sultan Mahmoud's reforms.

If we are not immediately called upon to decide between the two, we find ourselves aided by this very conflict of opinion; for we thus enabled to view things under various aspects.

Nevertheless we are still far from obtaining so complete a survey as we could wish. The two travellers saw only Rumelia, Constantinople, a part of Bulgaria and Albania. They have left undescribed not only the Asiatic, but also the remaining European provinces.

I would fain, in the following essay, contribute something towards completing our knowledge of the present condition of European Turkey. Bosnia, above all other provinces, has been thrown into the greatest commotion by the Sultan's reforms. My purpose is to present a brief account of the course of that movement. I have before me authentic materials derived from the communications of natives, which my Servian friend, M. Wuk Stephanovitsch Karadshitch, collected at my request. They are indeed far from being complete: but are for the most part quite new; and, therefore, I do not hesitate to make them the basis of the following work.

* "Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, &c., 1829–1831," by A. Slade; 1832. Dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland.

† "Turkey and its Resources," 1833. Dedicated to William IV.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF BOSNIA.

After so many centuries of international conflicts and of civilization, one would hardly suppose that there still exists in the midst of Europe a land in which the richest vegetation is produced spontaneously by nature, and comes forth and fades away, year after year, unnoticed and unused. No eye enjoys its beauty: no botanist has described this flora. In many cases, the richest pastures have no owner. The mountain heights are crowned with large trees, of which stately ships and tall masts might be made; for there is no want of rivers to float the timber down to the coast: but no one thinks of turning these natural advantages to account. It is left to Nature, in her own appointed periods, to consume what she has produced.

The country possesses, nevertheless, one branch of industry in which it is scarcely equalled by any other. Sword-blades, for instance, of consummate excellence, are there manufactured; and nowhere else in the world are these articles valued so much, or purchased at such high prices. Pistols also are adorned in the most sumptuous style with gold and silver, by the people of that country; and in their firearms and their horses, on the possession of which they pride themselves, they exhibit elaborate ingenuity of taste, and a personal vanity which is unparalleled.

Bosnia, of all the provinces of European Turkey, is pre-eminently in this anomalous condition. On the one hand, a strange apathy; on the other, such wonderful proficiency, though but in a single direction: a crude refinement, one is almost tempted to say, characterizes the population.

Of all frontier lands, there is surely not one which parts two such different worlds, as the Austrian frontier towards Turkey; doubly strong in its military organization and its chain of quarantine establishments. The change is the more remarkable, as it affects races of men who are otherwise very nearly related in origin, customs, and language: but nowhere

is the immense modifying influence which a dominant religion exerts upon men, more strikingly visible.

To this day the East still begins at Belgrade. The Pacha sits all day long on his divan, tranquilly inhaling the fumes of his chibouk and sipping his coffee; while the Bashis stand at the door with folded arms, awaiting his commands. As on the Arabian coasts, the leilat, marking the hours, resounds from the Servian fortresses through the stillness of night; so near to us has the polity and the religion of Mahomet succeeded in establishing its outward forms and observances. No sooner have you crossed the Austrian frontier into Bosnia, than you meet Moslems in the loosely-flowing garments of the sultry East. You enter quiet villages, where grave heads of families exercise a patriarchal rule; where the tranquillity of their holiday is not broken by any public dancing, much less by the uproar which the use of wine causes among Christians; and where the birds nestle undisturbed in the trees that surround the houses. There are customs that seem to scorn a change of climate; though adopted under the influence of another sky, they are here most scrupulously observed. This oriental disposition of the mind affects even the Christian inhabitants. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem are held in as much honour as pilgrimages to Mecca: both confer among the respective believers the title of Hadji; nay, the Christians in the Ottoman Empire not unfrequently call the Lord's Sepulchre the Tjaba, a title borrowed from the Kaaba at Mecca.*

Notwithstanding this general contrast with the West—with "the people over there," as they say—which the provinces and populations of the Ottoman Empire present in common, they yet exhibit the greatest diversity among themselves. The cause of this is to be sought, not only in the really great multiplicity of races from which they spring, but there have also arisen great differences in their relations to each other and to the Porte.

I think I may venture to assert, without fear of error,

* See also on this subject, Pertusier, "La Bosnie considérée dans ses Rapports avec l'Empire Ottoman," 1822; a work based on military geographical observations, and whose only defect is that it makes pretensions to general knowledge which it cannot sustain; also the agreeable work of Perch, "Reise in Serbien," 1830.

that these internal differences are also to be traced chiefly to religious influences.

Here I touch upon a primary feature of Ottoman history, in general little regarded, but which is nevertheless of the greatest moment.

It is true that the conquest of these lands was effected at once, and by force of arms; but from that moment began a process which, continuing for centuries, could not fail at last to assimilate the vanquished to the victors.

The Ottoman Empire is not simply a state; for inasmuch as it makes all political arrangements dependent on the recognition of Islamism, it is at the same time a religious institution. At the epoch of its splendour, its whole strength consisted in the number of its forced or voluntary converts. In later times, indeed, it has allowed such horrible measures as the levying of every tenth boy, to fall into disuse, nor has it undertaken any conversions by force; but through the exclusion of all who were not of the faith, from the majority of political rights, it has exercised an indirect influence, which has slowly and noiselessly produced important results.

The state of the Turkish Empire wholly depends upon the position which its various component populations have respectively assumed towards the dominant religion.

Some have borne for centuries the yoke of their Moslem rulers, and bear it to this day.

Others have succeeded in winning for themselves more or less of independence; as, for instance, the Clementi, the Montenegrins, the Mainotes, and lastly the Servians. In some cases it was their good fortune to be aided by the mountainous nature of their country, or by some favourable combination of political circumstances; but often their only resource has been to defend themselves with arms in their hands.

But all were not inclined either to fight continually for their freedom, or to submit to the thraldom of the Mahomedan state functionaries: their attachment to their own religion was not strong enough for that; and they chose rather to embrace Islamism, which raised them to the rank of their rulers.

From these causes, the numbers of the Christians in Turkey

have diminished to a greater extent than is commonly supposed.

It would be desirable if we could account for these losses to Christianity with some degree of certainty; but it is not in the nature of things that we should discover any notice of them but such as are scattered and fragmentary. The Ottoman Empire was never very accessible, nor is it usual to devote any special attention to the affairs of subjugated races.*

The Albanians, for instance, after holding out a considerable time, at last went over to Islamism in masses. Formed by nature to be warriors, with bodily endowments which fitted them equally to endure the hardship of campaigns in distant lands, and to excel in those modes of warfare adapted to their native country—driven out from their barren mountains by the mere act of becoming Mahomedans—they were considered the best soldiers of the Porte, and obtained, as it were, a monopoly of military service; they have fought out all the intestine wars of the empire in Arabia and Egypt as well as in Greece, from the Euphrates to the Drina. Such is their Mahomedanism, that they even go the length of deriving their descent from the Arabs. Their prophet and all their saints are derived from that people.†

In Bulgaria, too, whole tribes have apostatized to Islamism. They are scarcely less warlike than the Albanians, but they have no need to serve for pay: they are satisfied to remain unassailed in their mountains; all they insist on, is, that no other armed forces of the Sultan shall ever tread their soil.

In Bosnia affairs assumed a very peculiar aspect.

The distinction between Turks and Rayahs exists in Bosnia, as in the other provinces.

The Rayahs are partly of the Greek, and partly of the Catholic confession. The Greeks have their bishops in Svornick, Sarayevo, and Mostar; the Catholics have Franciscans for their priests; their bishop resides at Voinitza.

* See a note on this subject at the end of this essay.

† "Notice sur l'Albanie," by Ibrahim Manzour Effendi; "Mémoires sur la Grèce et l'Albanie pendant le Gouvernement d'Ali Pacha." Pouqueville remarks that Hippocrates seems to have taken the Albanians as his model when he drew the contrast between the European and Asiatic character.

A remarkable approximation is observed between the two professions. The Catholics attach themselves to the Greeks more than is the case anywhere else; they observe the same fasts. According to the national Servian custom, almost every family has a patron saint.

But it is surprising to find that even the rulers of the land, the professed Turks, speak the same language, are of the very same race, and still preserve many national customs. They have Slavonian names: the country is full of Liubovitches, Vaidatches, Gokolovitches, Giurgevitches, Philippovitches. They are in all respects very zealous Mahomedans; they pride themselves on the strictest maintenance of the dogma of the unity of God, as they understand it, and they insist on being called Turks—at the same time they also bear in mind what saint was the domestic patron of their ancestors: it seems as though they can never quite dispossess themselves of the remembrance of the old familiar faith. Sometimes a Bosnian Bey takes a Christian Priest secretly to the grave of his forefathers, to bless their remains and pray for their souls.

The cause of this strange state of things is, that the Bosnian noble had no choice but to go over to Islamism, if he wished to avoid being extirpated, as were the aristocracy in the other provinces. By taking that step he became a member of the Turkish government; soon he obtained *timars*, the Ottoman fiefs, and *sandshakts;* and as his vassals for the most part, if not wholly, remained Christians, the relations between him and them became the same as between the Osmanlis and the Rayahs in the rest of the empire.

Hence it came to pass that in Bosnia the nation was divided into two portions, which were mutually hostile to each other. That the Bosnians became such zealous Mahomedans might arise from that being the religion of the dominant class; for aristocratic pride linked itself with the pride of the Moslem.

In adopting Islamism, the Bosnian nobles maintained and strengthened their rights over their vassals; and thus they have always had the power of disposing of their lives and fortunes: it was also a great advantage to them that they were native proprietors, as thence they acquired, in the estimation of the Sultan, a position which gave them an

independence not easily to be obtained by other feudatories.

Upon this fact mainly depends the peculiarity of these national circumstances.

All the Bosnian *Kapetans*, of which Pertusier reckons forty-eight, have been for a considerable time hereditary; and it was a mere form if from time to time they were confirmed. To supersede them without employing force would have been impossible. The castles in which they dwell seem badly fortified, to an eye accustomed to European works. The towers at the four corners are connected by dilapidated walls, surmounted by old guns; but the assailants have no better artillery; and as the defenders generally fight to the death and make a most obstinate resistance, the issue must always be doubtful. These families, besides, have struck such deep root, that they are not easily to be extirpated by a single mischance, for the Kapetans are the great proprietors; a considerable part of the land is their own; and often they have estates beyond the Bosnian frontiers, which they employ the Rayahs to cultivate, giving themselves no more concern about them than to draw the rent, their sole occupation and glory being the acquirement of warlike accomplishments. The Porte has maintained the right of appointing a Vizier, not a native, for the general administration of the province; but it may easily be imagined that so independent an aristocracy pay little heed to him. The Vizier is not accustomed to travel through the country; and the Kapetans do not hold themselves bound to attend his court at his summons; indeed, they often wage war upon each other, without caring about him.

The rest of the Beys who live in the country districts, the Spahis and the Timariots, of course adhere more to the permanent power of the Kapetans than to the transient power of a Vizier. They all share in the national independence,* but it is especially enjoyed at Sarayevo, the capital of the province. Here, where the Vizier formerly resided, he is now scarcely of any importance. There stands the strong

* There also are Moslem peasants, as before indicated, and they are proprietors of the grounds they till: but there being no mosques in the country, they go on Friday to the nearest castle to perform their devotions.

castle which he once inhabited, but now he dares not enter it. It has become a law, that on his arrival he shall be at liberty to pass one night only in the town: for that night he is entertained at the public expense; but on the following morning he has to proceed forthwith to Traunik, his appointed residence.

An hereditary patriarchate established itself in Sarayevo for the government of the town. Like the patriarchates of the West, it was based upon the possession of real property in the neighbourhood, or on prosperity in trade; but, nevertheless, differed in this respect, that it was less exclusive. Whoever had attained consideration, either by good fortune or talent, even by success in some handicraft occupation, was eligible to this office.

The town possesses a certain amount of wealth. The whole commerce of the country is here carried on, for it is the connecting point with Rumelia, Croatia and Dalmatia; and if commerce in those regions is less extensive and comprehensive than with us, on the other hand it is probably more lucrative, and at the same time confers as much consideration as with us. Surrounded by beautiful hills and green meadows, and traversed by the river Migliaska, Sarayevo, with its neat houses, its stone bridges, and its numerous minarets rising between the trees, presents a very imposing and agreeable appearance, and impresses one with an idea of good order and comfort.

Sarayevo is considered the focus of fanaticism, as it is also the centre of the Bosnian aristocracy. It is well known that all old privileges throughout the empire were connected with the institution of the Janissaries: probably a sixth part of the inhabitants of this town shared in those privileges.

Hence it was that its citizens exercised extraordinary rights.

The Porte, until very lately, sent them a Mollah, whose office it was to settle the disputes both of Moslems and Rayahs, "according to the apostolic commands and the holy law of the Prophet;" deputing a Musselim for the Rayahs and the Aga of the Janissaries. By these appointments it asserted its sovereignty; but its nominees had to take care not to displease the citizens, who still retained the right of dismissing them. The popular control extended even to the

Vizier, although he was the governor of the whole country: whenever they had anything to allege against him, they had only to send in their complaint to the Odgak of the Janissaries in Constantinople, in order to obtain his recal.

It may readily be conceived how difficult was the position of a Vizier of Bosnia: pressed as he was on the one side by the Porte, by its bankers, to whom he owed his existence, and by the demands of the seraglio; on the other hand, restrained in an extreme degree by the aristocratic immunities of the town and its nobles; he was far from possessing the absolute power which we associate with the idea of a Pacha.

Now as the Porte had no other organ in the country than the Vizier and these few functionaries, it is plain how slight its influence over Bosnia must have really been. It was satisfied to draw its resources from the province, and deemed itself fortunate when it did not meet with direct opposition.

But it is not to be supposed that matters should always be allowed to remain on such a footing.

CHAPTER II.

ATTEMPT AT REFORM.

HAMMER'S copious history of the Othman Turks unfortunately breaks off just where it could not have failed to acquire fresh interest for contemporaries, and to prove highly instructive. It cannot indeed be denied that the European complications in which the Porte has been involved since the peace of Kainardji, would offer a new difficulty, in consequence of their near relation to the politics of the present moment; but, on the other hand, these complications would not form the most important consideration.

The vitality of the Ottoman Empire during the last fifty years has been entirely concentrated in its internal movements.

Notwithstanding all its barbarism, this Empire presents a subject of great interest. For one may observe the various

nations of which it is composed, again exhibit their original peculiarities, and manifest rude but vigorous impulses; how they welcome or reject the influences of civilization; how they assist or oppose the policy of the sovereign power: and this spontaneously, from inward emotions to which they readily yield, and which are as readily quelled. Who would not wish to see all this accurately depicted? What pictures here await observation! Pictures of a State that seems but newly formed, though resolved out of known elements; of poetry and customs racy and fresh, the natural growth of the soil; the result of the mingling and interpenetration of religions and languages. A party of travellers ought to be sent thither to explore the memorials of former times, and to view the productions of nature in that unknown territory: to collect the heroic lays which resound through the mountains; and to observe attentively and comprehensively the manners, language, polity, and mutual relations of its diversified populations.

In all these movements there is, at the same time, a remarkable unity—a general harmony in their development.

Simultaneously with great convulsions which Europe has experienced since the outbreak of the French Revolution—sometimes affected by them, and at others independent of them—the Turkish Empire has passed through a course of thorough change. For self-subsistent powers had spread over the whole empire. It was not only that the Pachas in so many places had boldly maintained their stations against the will of the Porte; or that the Wahabis ("bodies of steel, souls of fire")* had taken the holy cities, and revolutionised Arabia with a reformed creed: there were, also, local aristocracies everywhere, more or less like that of Bosnia. In Egypt there was the power of the Mameluke Beys revived immediately after the departure of the French; there was the protectorate of the Dere Beys in Asia Minor; the hereditary authority of the Albanian chieftains; the dignity of the Ayans in the principal towns; besides many other immunities, all of which seemed to find a bond of union and a centre in the powerful order of the Janissaries.

It happened that the Grand Signior found himself at war with these vassals of his; nor did it always occur in con-

* Hope's phrase in Anastasius.

sequence of his wish to get rid of privileges that curtailed his own power; the movement was at times begun by the opposite side. We have an example of this in Servia, where the Janissaries aimed at raising themselves to a power thoroughly unsanctioned and virtually independent. It became high time to stop their encroachments.

It is not always borne in mind that, after the unfortunate Selim had boldly undertaken this conflict in which he fell,* it was by a reaction against the Janissaries, and a victory over them, that Mahmoud II. attained to the throne. The tendency to reform made him Sultan. True, it was again immediately repressed; Bairaktar, the hero of those days, fell like Selim, but had a more glorious end; it only took deeper root in the mind of the young Sultan, the deeper that he was forced to keep it concealed; it blended with his dissimulation, his hatred, and his natural propensity to cruelty.

His whole life was a combat with rebels: he vowed to extinguish all kinds of independence in his empire. He did not spend much time in inquiring whether it was lawful or unlawful, whether it was dangerous or to be tolerated; he never hesitated as to the means: fraud and cunning were as welcome to him as open force.

It cannot be denied that the movements in Bosnia were due to him; for his thoughts were intently bent on changing the existing state of things there. After Molla Pacha of Widdin was removed, and Servia pacified for a time, while he was already planning an attack on Ali Pacha, his most powerful vassal in the west, he also made an attempt to subdue the refractory spirit of the Bosnian chiefs. Let us observe how he went to work. He took measures not exactly in an illegal, but certainly in a very arbitrary manner. He sent a Vizier to Bosnia with injunctions to punish even the slightest resistance with the utmost violence. His name was Jelaludin Pacha. The reader has, perhaps, heard of the sect of the Bektashi, Mahomedan monks, the only ones who have the right to beg, but who generally prefer to live by the work of their hands. Jelaludin is said to have

* These events are not badly told in a "Précis historique sur la Révolution du 28 Mai, 1807," by an eye-witness, in the "Esprit des Journaux," Dec. 1808, p. 165.

belonged to their body:* at least he did not live like other Viziers; he kept no harem, he did not surround himself with a court; and devoted himself wholly to the duties of his office. Often he went about in disguise, like the Viziers and Sultans of old, to see with his own eyes how his orders were obeyed. He even visited the Christians' houses of prayer.

Now as he exercised incorruptible, inexorable justice, he was welcome to the Rayahs, who desired above all else to be under an administration of protecting laws; but he was proportionately disliked by the nobles of Bosnia.

He deemed it right, and his orders enjoined him, to coerce them. This oligarchy or republic of nobles having been split up into innumerable factions, he succeeded in securing some adherents among the Agas even of Sarayevo. The powerful house of Dschindschafisch, in particular, joined him. This made him still more resolute in visiting all the refractory with signal chastisement. We are given the names of a number of Kapetans whom he caused to be murdered: one at Derventa, one of Bagnaluka, a Fotchitch: Achmet Bairaktar of Sarayevo. The elder men, who had grown grey in the enjoyment of independence, were the especial objects of his hostility. He attacked them in their very fortresses; Mostar and Srebritza he took by storm. No artifice was too mean for him, if it enabled him to seize his victims.

He practised that Oriental system of justice, which has been so often described, and respecting which it is a doubtful question whether it should be called justice or tyranny.

He eventually succeeded in reducing the province to obedience. The citizens of Sarayevo, indeed, as may be supposed, did not fail on this occasion to forward their complaints to the Odjack, in Constantinople: nor were the Vizier's arbitrary acts the only charges they brought against him: they complained, also, that he was a Christian. The Odjack laid these charges, as is customary, before the Sultan. It would have been a hazardous thing for him to have totally rejected them; the Janissaries in his capital were still too powerful for him; and it is said that he issued a firman recalling Jelaludin. But this was certainly only done for appearance'

* So say our documents; nevertheless, the close connexion between the Bektashi and the Janissaries, throws some doubt on the fact.

sake: it was the Sultan's own command which the Vizier was putting in force. The latter, in fact, kept his place, constantly increasing his efforts to reduce the Bosnians to obedience: the promised successor never made his appearance.

Considering the Sultan's position and purpose at that period, it seems probable that Jelaludin's proceedings were part of a general and comprehensive system.

It was at this time Mahmoud undertook to aim a decisive blow against Ali Pacha, in 1820, which succeeded beyond expectation. The expeditions by sea and land co-operated admirably together; and there seemed no doubt that the power of the old rebel would be forthwith annihilated. The Sultan had therefore reason to hope that he should soon see himself again in possession of all his European provinces.

He would now no longer tolerate even the ancient freedom of the Montenegrins. Jelaludin, who had risen to extraordinary distinction by success in the pacification of Bosnia, was commissioned to bring into subjection that people also, and the moment seemed singularly favourable.

But generally such extensive powers are accompanied with much danger.

Old Ali was not so speedily subdued as had been anticipated. In his hour of need, he once more displayed the whole strength of his character. His alliances, and his wealth, and even the very efforts made to resist him, kindled such an insurrection against the Sultan as he had never yet encountered. In the spring of the year 1821, the Suliotes, in Ali's pay, overran Epirus; Odysseus marched from Janina, and by his orders roused Livadia to revolt. The impression which an alleged project of the Sultan's, to extirpate the Greeks, which Ali communicated to the Hetæria, made upon that league, and upon the whole nation, is well known.* Jassi and Bucharest fell simultaneously into the hands of the Hetæria; Mavromichalis descended from his mountains, and took the Morea. In short, the whole Greek population seemed at once to awake to a consciousness of their nationality, and to scorn the yoke they had so long borne. Ali himself fell; but in the insurrection of the Greeks, to which his proceedings, secret and avowed, direct and indirect, had

* Soutzo: "Geschichte der griech. Revolution," s. 28.

greatly contributed, he bequeathed to the Sultan a legacy productive of disaster.

These events could not fail of producing a reaction on Bosnia.

Jelaludin had been defeated by the Montenegrins.* They laid in wait for his army, and cut it to pieces in the gorges of the Moratcha. On his return from that campaign he had already lost much of his reputation, and of the terror of his name; nevertheless he was still of inestimable value to the Sultan, as an agent for the accomplishment of his designs; this Vizier died, however, in the beginning of the year 1821. I know not what truth there may be in the story related in Bosnia, that he poisoned himself; at all events, his death, coinciding with that general movement of the empire which crippled all the Sultan's forces, caused a great change in that province, which then relapsed into its usual state. A new Vizier arrived; but so little was he able to make himself respected, that the natives did not even know his name with certainty. The adherents of the Sultan and Jelaludin were obliged to quit the country: the great families resumed their former position, and lived, as before, in the enjoyment of independence, and of those warlike habits for which their mutual petty feuds afforded occasion: the Sultan was too much occupied and embarrassed to be able to check them.

There is this peculiar difficulty in my narrative, that in order to understand the course of events of a single province, the reader must call to mind the changes undergone by the empire in general.

Thus, we must recollect at this point that the Sultan succeeded in extinguishing all these rebellions one after another, as soon as he had put down the most formidable. We will not inquire by what means this was effected; enough to say, that he at last re-established his authority on the Danube as in Epirus. Even the Morea seemed doomed to a renewal of the Moslem sway. Ibrahim Pacha landed there with the troops from Egypt in 1825. He annihilated rather than subjugated its population: and changed the country, as he himself said, into a desert waste; but at least he took pos-

* This defeat is the subject of the two last Servian ballads in the 4th volume of Wuk's Collection, Nos. 46, 47.

session of it step by step, and everywhere set up the standard of the Sultan.

Having been so far successful, the Sultan adopted a more comprehensive plan.

Mahomed Ali's successful enterprises served as his models from the first. Mahomed Ali led the way in Egypt, by the annihilation of ancient privileges; and it was not until he had succeeded, that Mahmoud resolved to pursue a similar course. A fearful rivalry in despotism and destruction then began between the two: they might be compared to the reapers in Homer cutting down the corn in all directions. But the vassal had been long engaged in a process of innovation; in spite of the opposition of his Janissaries, he had accomplished his purpose of establishing regular regiments, clothed and disciplined after the European system. The fact that it was these troops which after so many fruitless attempts at last conquered Greece, made a profound impression on the Sultan. He reverted to the ideas of Selim and Bairaktar; and the establishment of regular troops seemed to him the only salvation of his empire.

Therefore, on the 28th of May, 1826, in a solemn sitting of his Council of State, at which the Commissioner who had lately been in Ibrahim's camp was present, was pronounced the *fetwah* that "In order to defend God's word and counteract the superiority of the unbelievers, the Moslems, too, would submit to subordination and learn military manœuvres."

However, it was not set forth solely to resist foreign enemies that this measure was adopted, but it was chiefly to put down internal opposition. The Janissaries saw through the pretext; and we know what ensued: they revolted, as was their custom; but measures this time had been better taken than usual; their Aga deserted them; and they who had so often overthrown their sovereign were now themselves made victims. The Sultan could at last take his revenge, and satiate with their blood the rankling hatred of years. He inflicted a terrible judgment upon them; and it was now that his innovations assumed their real import. He could at last venture to dissolve the whole body. "We have changed their name," he said, "and given their old

statutes another form." In fact he put an end to the corps.*

The institution of the Janissaries was the central point of all aristocratic privileges; after so many of these had been destroyed in detail, their general doom was pronounced by this measure.

It was a question, however, whether the Sultan would be able to accomplish his designs in the provinces, as he had done in the capital.

There were Moslems with whom he encountered no difficulty. The Mahomedans of Bulgaria, who had little share in aristocratic privileges, cheerfully acquiesced; but the case was otherwise in Bosnia, for it was in the nature of things that nothing but resistance could be looked for from the privileged chieftains of that country, and from its capital Sarayevo, which swarmed with Janissaries. In truth, they had but little choice. If they submitted, there was an end at once and for ever to their immunities: accordingly they promptly manifested a strong spirit of opposition. The manner in which they expressed themselves was very significant. The new uniforms had belts fixed crosswise on the breast; and the words "to cross" in the language of the country are synonymous with "to baptize." "If they had a mind to cross themselves," said they, "they had no need of the Sultan; the Austrians or the Russians could in that case serve their turn better." In this feeling they were unanimous.

They compelled the new Vizier, Hadji Mustapha, and the six Commissioners whom the Sultan sent to them, to quit Bosnia. These expelled functionaries arrived in Servia in January 1827, in the worst season of the year. I will relate in a note an anecdote showing how little they had reason to be satisfied with their adventures in that journey;† but no

* Firman of the Sultan to the Cadi of Constantinople, 11 Silkade, 1241 (16th June, 1826). It contains also the fetwah above mentioned.

† It is a trivial incident; but I relate it because it exhibits the state of those countries, and the struggle between the new order of things and the old. Among the Commissioners, there was one who had in his train a Greek slave family, that had probably come into his hands during the war, consisting of a mother, her daughter—a pretty child of seven years, and two boys. In Semendria, the mother found opportunity to escape. She betook herself to Milosch, and besought him to rescue her children also from the tyrant. Whilst the Turk was pursuing her with violent

other road had been left open to them: it was with difficulty and extreme toil that they made their way back to Constantinople.

If the Sultan wished to see his measures accomplished, it was obvious that he must pursue them in some other manner, and that the first step was, in one way or another, to re-estatablish his authority in that country.

As its refractory spirit was vehement and violent, but had not yet actually broken out into open insurrection, it would have been injudicious in the Sultan to have had recourse at once to arms; there still remained other means.

He appointed as Vizier of Bosnia the Pacha of Belgrade, Abdurahim, a sickly and feeble man, but one who combined the Turkish virtue of wily and quiet determination with great devotion to the Sultan.

He entered upon his difficult task with extraordinary adroitness; for he availed himself of the friendship subsisting between him and Prince Milosch of Servia, to raise, with the help of the latter, a small force of a few hundred men.

Meanwhile he would not have ventured to set foot in Bosnia, had he not succeeded in gaining, here and there, some partisans among the chieftains of the country. He was for-

threats, he was met by a messenger from Milosch. The Prince sent word that the woman was with him; but instead of giving her up, he demanded her children also. He referred to a prohibition recently issued by the Sultan against making slaves of Greeks; but offered a small sum by way of indemnity. The Turk, fearing not only that he should never get the mother again, but that he should also lose the children, applied to the Pacha of Belgrade, and solicited his protection. The Pacha replied that he could not protect him against Milosch; and that if he wished to keep what he still had, the best thing he could do was to make his way quickly to the Austrian territory. The Turk followed this good counsel. But no sooner had he arrived in Panshova, than the Greek woman made her appearance there too. With streaming hair, and beating her breast with her hands, she cried out, "Brothers! Christians! help me! Do not let the unbelievers carry off my children!" A tumult followed, in which the children were taken out of the Turk's carriage, and concealed in a convent at a little distance. The Turk complained to the Commandant, who replied, that he knew not what had become of the children; and that, at any rate, there were no slaves in the Austrian dominions. He did not recover them; and went back in great vexation, by way of Temesvar and Orsova. The Greek family were taken under the protection of Milosch. The young girl was married in Semendria, but died there soon after.

tunate enough to secure the assistance of the Kapetan Vidaitch of Svornik. Svornik is regarded as the key of Bosnia. It seems that the Agas of Sarayevo had already conceived some suspicion of Vidaitch; for they were themselves about to take possession of the place. But Abdurahim anticipated them, and Vidaitch admitted him into the fortress.

A paramount advantage was gained by this. Abdurahim now felt strong enough to speak in a decisive tone in the Bujurdi in which he announced his arrival.

"I send you from afar," he therein said, "O Mahomedans of Bosnia, the greeting of the faith and of brotherly union. I will not call to mind your folly; I come to open your eyes to the light. I bring you the sacred commands of our most mighty Sultan, and expect you will obey them. In that case I have power to forgive you all your errors. Choose now for yourselves. It rests with you to save or to lose your lives. Reflect maturely, that you may have no cause to repent."

Even in those countries the lawful authority has an irresistible preponderance as soon as it becomes conscious of its strength, and seizes the reins in good earnest. Every one now began to think of his own safety. The new Vizier succeeded further in imparting a peculiar impressiveness to his proclamations.

In his retinue were the adherents of Jelaludin, who, after his death, had been forced to quit the country, being opposed to the ruling party in Bosnia, and favourable to the Sultan's innovations. These were the brothers Dschindschafisch, Gyul-Aga, and several others. Under the Vizier's protection they tried to return to Sarayevo, and succeeded in doing so, contrary to their expectations. Numerous defenders stood up for them, an open feud taking place within the city; the Sultan's opponents endeavoured to hold out for a while in the fortress, but at last they all were forced to surrender.

Thus it appears there was a party, though in the minority, to whom Abdurahim's arrival was welcome, and whom it raised in importance. If the Servian Prince supported him, it was because the independence of the Bosnian aristocracy had always menaced him. Abdurahim had the address to engage in his projects those confederates whose interests coincided

with his own. After the victory at Sarayevo he became master of the country.

He began by executing fearful vengeance on those who had been forced to surrender in the fortress. There were seven eminent chieftains: Pino Bairaktar, Ibrahim Aga Bakrovitch, two brothers Tamishtchi, Frez Aga Turnadjia, Hadji Alud Aga Turnadjia, and Janissary Aga Rutshuklia, who were brought to him at Svornik, where he had them all beheaded.

He inflicted the same punishment on many others who fell into his hands; nor did it always avail to have sent their subordinates, or to have appeared before him in person to make submission: not a few of those who submitted were also executed. No other means of establishing power is known in those countries than putting an adversary to death. We must accustom ourselves to that spectacle, for Moslem history presents it from the beginning.

When Abdurahim saw himself in some degree secure, he entered Sarayevo in great pomp. He was not inclined, however, to comply with the obligations imposed in former times on the Viziers; but he deemed it necessary to establish his seat of government in that very town, that he might have his eye upon the powerful chiefs and keep them in check; still proceeding in acts of arbitrary power just as he had begun. More than a hundred citizens are enumerated whom he put to death; he is said to have beheaded thirty in one night. The Rayahs, too, felt the pressure of his hand: he extorted money from them unsparingly.

Thus there was once more a master in Bosnia. No one ventured now to mention the Janissaries. The uniforms arrived; the Kapetans were obedient, and put them on. The whole land submitted to the new regulations.

When the war with Russia broke out, the Sultan did not doubt that he could command the services of the Bosnians. They did, in fact, assemble at Bielina a force computed at 30,000 men. All were curious to know how these forces, which had formerly been esteemed the best in the empire —wild and magnanimous as the lion, the guardian force of Constantinople, as Omar Effendi called them—would behave under the new system. They proposed to march through

Servia to the Danube; the Porte persuaded Prince Milosch to grant them leave to pass through the country, assuring him that "his territory should suffer no injury thereby; and if an egg cost a para he should receive two paras in payment for it."

CHAPTER III.

INSURRECTION IN BOSNIA.

Mahmoud II. has often been compared to Peter the Great; and it is undeniable, that even as there is a resemblance between the Strelitzes and the Janissaries, so also there is a great similarity between their destroyers.

But this similarity is not in genius, original conception, comprehensiveness of views, or that strength of character which, by its own impulse, advances a nation. Indeed, how few sovereigns there are, of any period, who can be compared in these respects with Peter the Great: not to speak of Mahmoud; for Peter was original, inventive, creative; Mahmoud but an imitator: Peter only considered essentials, and the main point in everything; Mahmoud amuses himself with insignificant details and accessories.

Thence the great distinction between them. Peter the Great defeated his enemies, and did not make peace till he had done so; Mahmoud allowed himself to be overcome. He concluded the peace of Adrianople when it was in the power of the enemy to take his capital with a few thousand men. Afterwards he suffered himself to be beaten by his vassals, and surrendered to them his finest provinces.

As merit is measured by success, his losses manifest how much more difficult his situation must have become.

It is incomprehensible how, in the midst of the disturbances excited by his reforms, he could issue that hattischerif in which he designated the Russians as natural enemies, with whom he only negotiated in order to prepare to fight with them—but for which declaration there would hardly have been war at that time.

When war did break out, Mahmoud immediately found himself in great embarrassment; for he dreaded a rising of the Rayahs of the empire in favour of their Russian co-religionists.

The pacific declarations he made to the Servians were by no means sincere. His reason for assembling the Bosnian troops at Bielina, not far from the Servian frontiers, was that he feared the Servians would declare for the Russians, and formally announce their defection. Therefore he strove to keep them in check by means of his Bosnian forces. The Servians at once felt this. Prince Milosch refused to grant free passage to the Bosnians, declaring that his nation, which had already suffered in various ways from the marching even of a small force to reinforce the garrison of Belgrade, felt great apprehensions from the violence of a large army, and would not permit it to enter the country. Being resolved to prevent the advance of the Bosnians, even by force of arms, he posted Servian troops on the Drina.

Meanwhile the apprehensions of the Sultan were unfounded. Even Russia wished that Servia should remain quiet, and this, too, was the interest of Milosch. The danger that really was to be feared lay in quite another direction.

The representations made by the Sultan to his subjects, that the Russians were the hereditary foes of their empire and their religion were far from making the impression he expected. The fact was not precisely as he stated, and men do not always allow themselves to be deceived by words; the contrary, indeed, happened in this case. The Bosnians were well aware that if the Sultan were victorious he would lay a much heavier yoke upon them. In the dangers and difficulties brought upon him by war, they saw the last means of relieving themselves from a domination which from day to day was becoming more intolerable. At this juncture, too, they displayed that mixture of violence and cunning so essentially the characteristic of barbarous nations.

From every castle and town the troops marched to the Eagle's Field—Orlovopolje—close by Bjelna, their appointed rendezvous. The Vizier intended soon to repair thither, with forces from Sarayevo. Whilst preparing to do so, it happened that the people of Visoko—an unimportant place, about six German miles from Sarayevo—arrived before that

capital, instead of marching direct to Orlovopolje, as they should have done. The Vizier sent out his Kiaia, and some of the principal inhabitants of the city, to call them to account for this unauthorized change in their line of march. A Kapidji bashi, who had just arrived from Constantinople, accompanied the mission, and gave it still more importance; but it was unquestionably a concerted scheme amongst the leading men of Visoko and Sarayevo. Thousands of inhabitants had already gone; many no doubt from mere curiosity—for it was Friday, a day on which the Turks do not work—but others with a distinct purpose. When the mission angrily commanded that the force should march off forthwith to the appointed place, some poor inhabitants of Visoko stepped out of the ranks, and declared that "without money they were not in a condition to proceed a step further; that even only to equip themselves and march as far as they had already arrived, some of them had been obliged to sell their children." The Kapidji bashi and the Kiaia thought that such language was not to be borne. Without hesitation, therefore, in accordance with the principles of Turkish justice, they ordered their followers to seize the speakers, to take them away, and behead them. The order, however, was not so easy of execution. "Help, true believers in the prophet!" exclaimed the men; "help and rescue us." All seized their weapons—the comrades of the prisoners, as well as the inhabitants of Sarayevo, who were privy to the scheme, and those who were hurried along by their example. The Kapidji bashi and the Kiaia had not time to mount their horses, but were obliged to run to the city on foot, with bullets whistling after them. The furious armed multitude arrived there with them. The Vizier's force, about two thousand strong, attempted for a while to stem the torrent. They tried to stand their ground wherever they found a position, such as a bridge, a mosque, or a house; but were far too weak to maintain it. Only a small number had time to retire into the fortress where the Vizier was, and thence they fired with the few cannon they had on the lower town. But the Bosnians, with their small arms, did far more execution, singling out their enemies, and bringing them down with sure aim. The fighting continued for three days. At last Abdurahim found himself compelled to

think of his own safety. The Bosnians, who found themselves victorious, would gladly have refused him leave to retire; but the older and more experienced among them, satisfied with the success they had obtained, persuaded the young people to let him go. On the fourth day, a Thursday in July, 1828, Abdurahim marched away. He took the road to Orlovopolje, being allowed to take with him the cannons he had brought.

There meanwhile the news from Sarayevo had produced its natural effect. When the choice lay between a dangerous conflict with Servia and Russia on the one hand, from which, if it ended prosperously, still nothing could result but greater oppression of their national freedom, and on the other, the prospect of arriving without an effort at the enjoyment of their wonted independence, how could the Bosnians doubt what they should do? After the defeat of the Vizier his commands had lost all force: the troops assembled in Orlovopolje seized the favourable opportunity and dispersed. The Vizier knew the country too well to cherish any lingering hopes. He repaired to Traunik, and thence took the field against the Russians, but not with the army which he had expected to lead thither.*

To preserve peace, at least ostensibly, the Sultan condescended to send another Vizier of milder temper. The new governor again took up his residence at Traunik; but met with no more obedience than his immediate predecessors.

Scodra Pacha.

But was it to be expected that the refractory spirit of the Bosnians, so deeply seated, and strengthened by such revolting cruelties as they had experienced, should always content itself with acting on the defensive?

* It is not unworthy of notice, how, at but a trifling distance of time and place, this event at once assumed a sort of mythological form. Slade, who was at Constantinople in the year 1829, and visited at least Adrianople and Philippopolis, the whole theatre of the Russian war, says, in his "Records," i. p. 301: "From Bosnia, a province filled with a robust and warlike population, the Sultan expected efficacious succour, and showed it by ordering Abdurrahman Pacha, its governor, to march with forty thousand men towards the Drina, in order to observe the Servians, who,

It will be easily conceived that nothing was wanting but an occasion, a leader, and a name, to inspire them with the determination that the repetition of such attempts for the future should be rendered impossible.

In this aspect of affairs Mustapha, Pacha of Scutari, by the Turks and Albanians called Scodra Pacha, was a man of pre-eminent importance. Since the fall of Ali Pacha his name was much spoken of. He was then about twenty-five years of age, and not unlearned for a Turk. He is said to have shown a taste—the rarest among the Turks—for geography and maps: above all he was warlike, and one who stood up resolutely for his rights. From time immemorial the pachalik of Scutari had been hereditary in his family, the house of Bushatlia, one of the oldest in the country; it traces its descent from the stock of the Merl-yaftchevitches, from which sprang King Vukashin. The popular ballads of Servia, it is true, do not corroborate this assertion; but they ascribe to it an honourable origin, deriving it from Ivan Zernoyevitch. In Sultan Mahmoud, who detested every hereditary privilege, Mustapha beheld a natural foe. He remembered his father, Kara Mahmoud, who had gained immortal renown by maintaining his castle against an incredibly superior force of the Sultan's troops. He also expected a similar assault.

In the year 1823 he consented to make an attack on Greece, but entered upon it with extraordinary precaution. Had the heroic Bozzaris encountered him in time at Carpenissa, where he sought him, he would have freed the Sultan, rather than the Greeks, of an enemy. But it was destined to be otherwise. Bozzaris himself fell. At the moment of his death, his countrymen say, he won immortality.

In like manner in the year 1829, Mustapha marched against

under Prince Milosch, were suspected of intentions favourable to Russia. But in Bosnia the spirit of Jannissarism, or the desire of preserving ancient institutions, prevailed; insomuch that the Pacha, afraid of the result, deputed a Bimbashi in his place to accompany the Mollah to the camp to read the firman. Having heard it, the troops uttered murmurs which soon increased in violence. The Bimbashi and the Mollah were shot dead, and the new uniforms which had been brought to dress them in, were piled up, and burned on the spot." How curiously some traits of the real occurrence are here transformed into the most fabulous of rumours!

the Russians. He could not have refused the urgent and almost humble entreaties of the Sultan without an absolute rupture with him; but it was with the greatest circumspection his arrangements for the campaign were made. Not satisfied with leaving his bravest and most devoted adherents to garrison Scutari, he caused a relation of his, who was next heir to the Pachalik, to be strangled in the prison in which he had long been confined. To uphold their own power, is, with men of this stamp, the first law of their savage and sanguinary code. Nothing which tends to that purpose, however horrible it may be, appears criminal in their eyes. Having accomplished this deed, Mustapha began his march. He maintained discipline among his troops by the severest measures. When the Servian emissaries arrived at Nisch to welcome him, they saw the bodies of those who had been executed lying in his camp, and near them a few onions, a stolen fowl, or other provisions, to show that the poor fellows had been put to death for unlawfully possessing themselves of such trifling objects. Thus he reached Widdin, with an army estimated at 35,000 men, and apparently made preparations for beginning the campaign, which he never meant in reality to undertake. His only care was to keep his force unimpaired; for he knew well that every diminution of it would be a double loss: that if he sacrificed his men in the Sultan's service, the Sultan would destroy him only so much the sooner. His confidants were known to say: "They saw themselves now between two enemies, the Russians and the Porte; it was doubtful which of the two they had most cause to fear—which of the two most desired their destruction."

No wonder, then, if this army did not offer any serious resistance to the Russians. Mustapha might probably have prevented the passage of the Balkan if he had chosen to exert himself; but that was not his purpose. Diebitch crossed the mountains with a facility which he himself had not expected; no town and no army withstood him. When he took possession of Adrianople, the great question between the two empires was decided.

Meanwhile a small army had marched from Bosnia also; and it appeared in Philippopolis, but it was then too late.

It is but too certain that these vassals not unwillingly beheld the disasters of their Sovereign. Mustapha, also, was

a determined enemy to reform. From the very beginning he declared that he would serve the Sultan with the same firelock and in the same garb as his forefathers, but in no other and after no other fashion.

Encouraged by the events of the day these sentiments acquired strength and were avowed on all sides.

The general opinion ascribed the disasters of the war to the Sultan's reforms. How strange! that whilst the arrival of the Russians was hailed by all the Christian subjects of the Porte as their emancipation from the yoke of the Moslems, the latter even beheld it with pleasure as affording a possibility of getting rid of their ruler. The turban, and here and there the garb of the Janissaries, were again seen in Constantinople; meetings were held in all quarters; and people were resolved, on the first appearance of the Russian troops, immediately to depose the Sultan.

Thus manifold were the adverse circumstances that at last broke down Mahmoud's obstinacy and compelled him to think of peace. On the very day he sent his Defterdar and his Cadi Asker to the enemy's camp, to treat for it, he began a series of terrible executions in his capital: the streets were full of the corpses of persons who had been executed on proof or suspicion. It was not until peace was concluded that Mustapha appeared in the neighbourhood of the Russians. And although he was a decided enemy of the Sultan, the Russians were compelled to regard him as their foe also. General Geismar had an encounter with him and repulsed him.

At the very moment when the Russians had forced the Sultan to so discreditable a peace, they were indirectly constrained in other respects to undertake his defence.

Mustapha remained a considerable time longer in the camp at Philippopolis; nor did he leave it until he had completely exhausted the resources of the province, and had moreover received a sum of money from the Sultan. Even then he only retired to await a more favourable opportunity; of which his alliance with the Bosnians afforded him a near prospect.

Hussein Kapetan.

Meanwhile the most complete anarchy prevailed in Bosnia.

Heedless of the general fate of the empire, and even lightly regarding the decision of the questions on which their own existence depended, the chiefs, as we before stated, carried on a petty warfare with each other.

An example I am about to give of this will serve to show the manner in which this anarchical resistance gradually assumed a certain form and order.

Ali Pacha Vidaitch, of Svornik, was, in the year 1829, nominated Pacha of Srebrnitza; but when he was about to enter the fortress, he found it was already in the possession of one Memish, an Aga of those parts. Memish had gained over the Moslems to his side, and had likewise armed the Christians.

All the efforts of Vidaitch to drive him out, and to assert his own rights, were in vain; and he went back to Svornik.

But what was his astonishment when he found the gates of Svornik also closed against him. During his absence Mahmoud Pacha, one of his own relations, and a good friend of Memish's, had made himself master there. Ali was obliged to resort to force if he did not desire wholly to abandon his old seat of government. Fortunately he had still friends in the town, by whose aid he succeeded in forcing his way in; but fighting ensued in the streets and about the houses and squares.

And here probably Ali would have gained the victory, if his enemy had not gained a powerful ally in Hussein, the Kapetan of Gradatshatz. Ali was too weak to attack both together; and found himself at last beset in a house, where he still held out with a few Momkes—retaining with him his chief treasures, his son of three years old, and his Arabian steed, until at length the upper story of the house was demolished by shot. He met his misfortunes in a dignified manner: placing his little boy in a Momke's arms, he bade the man present him to his foe Mahmoud, "who might do with him what he pleased;" and he surrendered himself, to Hussein. Mahmoud received the child, and brought him up as his own. Hussein took Ali away with him to Gradatshatz; and they soon became the best friends, and trusty brothers-

in-arms: in all his enterprises from that time forth, the Kapetan had no truer or braver comrade than his prisoner.

Here we first meet with Hussein Kapetan, who afterwards rose to be the mightiest chieftain in the land. Even then he might be compared with Mustapha: like him, he was not without some share of Turkish learning; brave, rich, handsome, in the prime of life, but less violent and cruel. His father, Osman Pacha, is celebrated in the Servian ballads; he had distinguished himself as a strict administrator of justice; in matter of right he made no distinction in his own district, between Christians and Mahomedans. In this respect, the son followed the father's example; in valour and heroic spirit he surpassed him. Even in those years Hussein deemed himself entitled to the appellation of the Dragon of Bosnia (Smai od Bosna); subscribing his letters also with that strange and pompous title. All the Bosnians looked upon him, and doubted not he would be able to maintain them in the enjoyments of their rights and immunities.

For already these were again threatened. After the Russians had withdrawn, the Sultan proceeded with his reforms; indeed, it may be said that he was now compelled to do so. Those of the old way of thinking, throughout the whole empire, who hated him because he disturbed them in the enjoyment of their vested interests, who despised him because he had allowed himself to be beaten, and yet feared him so long as he was in possession of power, were, however, still his determined opponents; and in the summer of 1830 he again attacked them. After he had succeeded in ridding himself of some Albanian leaders, he ordered the Vizier in Traunik to go vigorously to work in Bosnia also; and that functionary accordingly put on the uniform which was sent him from Constantinople. The Bosnians had only waited for this to rise in rebellion. Many thousands strong, and led by Hussein, they attacked the Vizier in his fortress, in the beginning of the year 1831. He could offer no resistance; so they compelled him to put off his uniform before their eyes, and to resume the old costume of the Vizier. As though he had insulted the religion of their fathers, they forced him to perform solemn ablutions in the prescribed manner, and to recite the Moslem prayers; after that they led him away with them. It is supposed their plan was to

make use of his name for some greater enterprise; as they intended to take the field against the Sultan, and might have thought that their proceedings assumed a more legitimate aspect when they had the Vizier with them, and marched ostensibly under his command. Their captive, however, found means to escape during the fast of the Ramadan, and made his way back to Constantinople through the Austrian territory. Nevertheless when the fast was over, the Bosnian chiefs again assembled at Sarayevo. Just at that time Mustapha Pacha appeared at the head of 40,000 men, and no one doubted but that he would take Constantinople. The Bosnians resolved to share in that enterprise, and they marched to the field in their utmost strength: they were 25,000 strong.

The hopes of the Turks were everywhere raised to an extravagant height by these undertakings; and the people of Belgrade were loud in their exultations. In Nisch the rights of the Janissaries were proclaimed anew; a complete revolution in the state of affairs was expected. "Sodra Pacha," they said, "will take Constantinople, depose the Sultan, and restore the old order of things." It was hoped that all this would be effected before long. In the spring of 1831 Mustapha's Krdshalies advanced under Kara Teisia; and with many cruelties made themselves masters of Sophia. The war had commenced.

CHAPTER IV.

ACTIVE OPERATIONS AND SUCCESS OF THE GRAND VIZIER.

It is obvious that these were not ordinary insurrections, such as have occurred at various times in the Ottoman Empire—as, for instance, when a Pacha refused obedience, or was driven away by his subjects. But the grand vital question of the empire was at issue: whether it should subsist, as it had subsisted for centuries, with hereditary privileges, local immunities, and with its old customs: and

also, be it understood, with its usual anarchy ; or, whether it should become—we cannot say European—or pass into such a state as that which Mohammed Ali had brought about in Egypt : annihilation of the old established dignitaries ; servitude of the rural population, but not quite like that of the fellahs ; and to a police system of order, enforced by disciplined and obedient militia.

Urquhart, the great admirer of the Sultan and his then Vizier, has inferred from conversations with the latter and also from some of his regulations, that his purpose was, once for all, to divest of power all those authorities who ruled the land under the name of Pachas, Beys, and Musselims ; and to put in their stead paid, and therefore more dependent, officers of the regular army ; likewise to have the taxes received by a special treasurer ; without personal administrations, and that the appointed sums should always be collected by the local authorities.

Now if it were the Sultan's intention to extinguish the existing class of authorities, and to introduce an order of things under which the functionaries might consider themselves fortunate in even preserving their lives, though they could never be again of the same importance, we cannot wonder that they strenuously resisted.

Strange contrast with our condition on this side of Europe ! There we see, on the part of the sovereign, destruction of existing institutions, sweeping innovation ; on the part of the insurgent populace, the maintenance of things as they are ; and conservation of barbarism of the most violent character.

The Bosnians were soon, however, in a worse plight than they were aware of.

It was not with a stronger army or more valiant men that the shrewd Grand Vizier offered the Pacha of Scutari, but with superior fraud and subtlety. Treachery is in these countries a weapon which no one hesitates to adopt. To whom were the Albanians ever faithful ? The Grand Vizier contrived to bribe some of the chiefs who served in Mustapha's army, and to secure others by promises ; therefore, when the forces came to action on the heights of Prilip, the greater part of the Pacha's army deserted to the Grand Vizier. Once more he ventured to make a stand, but being taken at a disadvantage he was obliged to retreat to Scutari.

There in his fortress, in his own country, he was still able to offer resistance, and the Bosnians were already on their march. The Servian Prince endeavoured to dissuade them from their enterprise, in a long manifesto in which he promised that he would restore them to the Sultan's favour, mingling some threats with his promises. The answer sent him by Hussein was rather singular; he dictated it verbatim: "Take heed to thyself, thou hast but little food before thee; I have overturned my bowl.* I will have nothing to do with a Sultan with whom thou canst intercede for me. I am ready to meet thee always and anywhere; my sword had smitten before thine was forged." Without allowing themselves to be diverted from their purpose, the Bosnians, about 25,000 strong, marched onwards to the mountains. Milosch permitted them to passs.

Even in barbarism there is yet grandeur of feeling, and it even contains elements of poetry: memories few but forcible, and purposes accordant and interwoven with them. The Bosnians, before they quitted their own province, had heard of Mustapha's mischances, which they correctly attributed to the treachery of the Albanians; but as they, on the contrary, trusted to themselves in all things, they feared no such disaster. At the same time they were not unconscious that they perchance might fail; for they had none of that strong assurance of victory which is usual in barbarian armies. On the march they chaunted a song to the following effect:

"We march, brethren, to the plains of Kossovo where our forefathers lost their renown and their faith; there it may chance that we, also, may lose our renown and our faith—or that we shall maintain them and return as victors to Bosnia."

There is something grand, nay sublime, in this feeling. They go forth to fight for their faith, for their whole national existence. They seek that field where the fate of both has already been unhappily decided. They resolve to conquer, and to maintain their present religion, Mahomedanism, on the spot where they lost the former one, Christianity; or if vanquished, then the memorials of their ancient splendour shall at least be combined with those of their downfall.

* Bowl or platter: the Turkish expression probably means that he had renounced his allegiance to the Sultan; that he would no longer eat of his bread.

But so decisive a result was not destined to take place this time by force of arms.

It seemed that ere long they would attain their ends with less exertion.

They took Kossovo without difficulty; and were everywhere received as liberators; it was only at Ipek that the Albanians and the regular troops of the Grand Vizier offered resistance. The brave and able Ali Pacha Vidaitch, who was now the trusty brother-in-arms of Hussein, soon succeeded in taking the town. The Grand Vizier, who was at Scopra, sent a division of his army against them; but it was completely defeated: the Albanians deserted to the Bosnians. Had the victorious army advanced it would have raised the siege of Scutari, and given a different turn to the whole war.

This was the very thing the Grand Vizier feared. Crafty as he was, he shaped the whole course of his policy to induce the Bosnians to retrograde.

For this purpose he despatched an embassy to them to receive a statement of their demands.

They imposed on him three conditions: first, the undisturbed maintenance of the existing state of things in their province without any reform; secondly, the nomination of the Vizier of Bosnia from among the natives of the province, whereby their independence would have been more firmly secured; thirdly, the immediate elevation of Hussein Kapetan to that dignity.

Tâtars hurried to and fro between the two camps: the Grand Vizier had no alternative. Whether he had full powers or not, whether he purposed to keep or to break his word, as he durst not let the foe advance, he was forced to yield to his demands. He therefore granted the Bosnians the conditions for which they stipulated.

The latter committed grievous mistakes. In the first place, they forgot their old friend Scodra Pacha, who had so long served as the bulwark of their liberties, and who was compelled by his position to protect them; but besides this, they did not even wait until the new immunities were confirmed by firman, but began their march back, as though the Grand Vizier's promises were alone sufficient.

Their doing so was also in a great measure the work of the Grand Vizier. His Tâtars were not only the medium of

general correspondence between the two parties, but carried private messages also to one or other of the Bosnian grandees. They represented, for instance, to the Kapetan of Tusla, that it was certainly just that a Bosnian chief should be raised to the dignity of a Vizier; but that undoubtedly that honour did not become so young and untried a man as Hussein, but should rather be bestowed on an older and more sensible man, like Tusla Kapetan himself. The old man fell into the trap. Without consulting the other leaders, he and his people openly quitted the camp. Ali Vidaitch saw in that act the beginning of endless disunion, and would have pursued and brought him back, had not Hussein prevented it. The result was that the Bosnians, who had already become overweeningly confident in the strength of the province, contented themselves with what they obtained, and began their march homewards.

The Grand Vizier now had his hands free to deal with Mustapha, whom he attacked both by force and fraud: the usual perfidies were not omitted, and at last he succeeded in subduing him. Mustapha surrendered. The Ottomans appear of late years to have become more humane in some respects, and have begun to spare the lives even of open rebels. Mustapha is said to be still living somewhere in exile. But the cruelties inflicted on his people were horrible; it makes one shudder to record them. Projectile machines were erected, and the prisoners being placed upon them were flung against a wooden frame-work studded with great iron hooks; and wherever the body of the unfortunate victim was caught by them, there it hung, until he perished by the terrible, torturing and protracted death. The crime of these men was, that they had remained faithful to the Pacha, to whom they were attached by a thousand ties, and had not, like many others, deserted him.

This dreaded and powerful chieftain being thus destroyed, as the Albanian Beys had been before, the Grand Vizier Reschid, after so prosperous a conclusion of his enterprise, was not restrained by any consideration. He went with his army to Kossovo, and pitched his camp at Vutschitern, thence to watch Servia as well as Albania and Montenegro, and above all Bosnia.

In Bosnia, Hussein Kapetan had assumed the rank of a

Vizier at Traunik, where he had established a court, and nominated his Kiaia, his Divan Effendi, his Khasnadar, and other court functionaries. He imagined he had attained the summit of his ambition, and styled himself *Witesod Bosna*, Hero of Bosnia.

This, however, provoked the envy of the other chiefs: immediately after they had achieved the victory discord appeared among them.

One of the most powerful Kapetans, Ali Aga of Stolatz, had always taken part with the Sultan. When he succeeded in ridding himself of his enemy, he was indebted to the aid of the Rayahs; and therefore granted them leave to carry the weapons they had taken from his Moslem foes. The Vizier who was taken prisoner by the Bosnians in 1831, and escaped from them, found refuge with Ali Aga before he passed over into Austria. He was often attacked by the other chieftains, but his castle of Stolatz in Herzegovina was so impregnably situated on a cliff, and his Rayahs were so brave, that his enemies were never able to subdue him. During the enterprises of the Bosnians he kept himself proudly aloof.

We have seen how Mahmoud Vidaitch maintained his ground in Svornik only by the help of Hussein. But his gratitude for that service was not so deep as his anxiety when he knew that his former antagonist Ali was so much in the confidence of that Chief. Mahmoud had promised to come to Kossovo; but nevertheless he did not make his appearance.

Hassan Aga, of Petsch, was in open rebellion against the Sultan, but even he would have nothing to do with Hussein. Tusla Kapetan, as we have seen, made pretensions to the highest dignity.

Moreover, there were others not absolutely swayed by ambition or personal enmity, who yet were moved by considerations of increasing urgency; for there is in Turkey, a feeling in favour of legitimacy. The aged Agas of Sarayevo doubted not that the concessions obtained at Kossovo would be ratified; but as this remained undone, and even the firman requisite to confirm Hussein in his rank never arrived, they became uneasy. Resolved, as they were, to hold fast by their traditional rights, they yet thought that so prolonged an

insurrection against their lawful sovereign, and the exercise of a power not conferred by him, could lead to no good results.

Gladly did the Grand Vizier see these scruples and dissensions prevailing. He did not consider himself bound by his promises, and now that dissensions daily increased between these Kapetans, Beys and Agas, whose interests were identical, and who might have offered invincible resistance had they remained united and maintained in power that man whom they themselves had raised to it, he did not hesitate to nominate another Vizier of Bosnia, named Kara Mahmoud; who marched thither with 30,000 men; viz., 18,000 Albanians and 12,000 regular troops.

Had Hussein but felt secure in his own territory he would have had nothing to fear; for he might have met the enemy in the mountains, and there conquered him with little difficulty; but matters were already at such a pass, that whenever he should march he had reason to fear an insurrection in his rear. Although we cannot call him bloodthirsty, he had already thought himself under the necessity of executing some Agas in Sarayevo.

The consequence was that he could only send a few thousand men against the enemy, under commanders of tried fidelity.

But even these he would have done better to retain; for they were his bravest men. They marched on Kossovo, eight hundred strong, under Alaibey Todorovitch, and laid siege to the town of Baniska. They soon found themselves attacked by fifteen thousand men, against whom they long and gallantly defended themselves; but the numerical superiority of the foe was too great, and finally all who remained alive were forced to surrender; and they were marched off to Constantinople.

The Musselim of Priyepolje, Hadji Mui Aga, formerly only a tradesman, but now a brave chieftain and one of the most decided partizans of Hussein and of the old system, had posted himself on the bridge of the Lim with a tolerably strong force and a few cannon. After a short resistance he, too, was compelled to yield to superior numbers. His captors set him upon an ass, with his face turned towards the tail, and led him in that posture through the town of which he had been the governor. "Is there no Turk here," he

cried, "to shoot me, and free me from this indignity?" They answered him, "There is no Turk here; you Bosnians are the only real Turks."

Thus Kara Mahmoud advanced with his army down the mountains toward Sarayevo without encountering further opposition.

Hussein was now at last aroused to activity; but not venturing to remove more than five leagues from the city, he awaited the foe at Mount Wites, having with him about 20,000 men. He had also summoned the Rayahs to arms, and those of his own district of Gradatchatz had obeyed the call in considerable numbers. But when it came to actual fighting they did not evince much alacrity; for whatever might be the issue, they saw no prospect of a decisive amelioration of their condition; in fact they had more to fear from the victory of the Bosnian aristocracy than from that of the Sultan. The usual dissensions manifested themselves among the Mahomedans; and of the 20,000 hardly 3000 fought with any spirit. Kara Mahmoud got possession of the place. But his victory was not so lightly won after all.

Hussein attacked him once more before the walls of Sarayevo, and fought with extraordinary valour; so, too, did Ali Pacha Vidaitch, who had eight horses killed under him on that day. Had there been but twenty such leaders on the Bosnian side, the Grand Vizier's army would have been destroyed. But the majority remained spectators of the battle, awaited the issue, and would not contribute towards deciding it. Nevertheless Kara Mahmoud sustained extraordinary losses, and at one time he even thought of retreating; but just at the moment Ali Aga, of Stolatz, appeared on the field of battle with his Herzegovinian Rayahs, took the Bosnians in flank, and decided their defeat.

Further resistance was out of the question. Each of the Kapetans and Beys thought only of reaching his own home, hoping that in their strongholds they should be able to make fresh terms with the Vizier, and the Agas of the town had no means of saving their property but by a speedy surrender. Hussein saw that he could not hold his ground, and found himself compelled to adopt the only course which remains for the defeated chiefs of those countries: he crossed the Aus-

trian frontier. The faithful Ali Pacha Vidaitch, the Mollah of Sarayevo, who always adhered to his party, Krupa Kapetan, and about two hundred others, accompanied him.

Kara Mahmoud marched into Sarayevo ; and it must be acknowledged to his credit that he kept his forces under good discipline ; on this occasion there was not a trace of those atrocities which commonly attend a conquest. But, as may be supposed, he scorned the idea of having to take up his residence in Traunik, as former Viziers had done ; and erected for himself a konack and barracks for his soldiers on the Goritza, a quarter of a league from Sarayevo.

Vainly had the Kapetans flattered themselves with hopes of capitulating upon favourable conditions ; he compelled them by force to surrender one after the other ; and dealt with them upon the broad ground that they had taken part with Hussein, without troubling himself to inquire how far they had sided with him Hassan Aga, of Petch, as well as the others, was sent, in the first instance, to the Grand Vizier's camp, and thence to Constantinople. The places of the hereditary chiefs were everywhere filled by Musselims, functionaries of the Vizier.

Ali Aga, of Stolatz, was alone excepted, as was just. He was nominated Pacha of Herzegovina.

Attack on Montenegro.

Thus was Bosnia, again, brought under subjection to the Sultan, and the new reforms began to be introduced there.

Meanwhile the Grand Vizier already contemplated another enterprise.

As often as the Turkish power has become in some degree consolidated in those regions, it has always heen directed against the Montenegrins, whose freedom in their mountains under a Christian ruler appears insufferable in the eyes of the Osmanlis. How often have those brave peasants had to fight with Ali Pacha, of Yanina? The elder Scodra Pacha, the father of Mustapha, fell in battle with him. No sooner was Jelaludin become the ruler of Bosnia than he attacked them. Reschid, too, thought to crown his successful enterprises by the subjection of that unconquered mountain race.

On this occasion he seemed to be favoured by opportunity.

The old Vladika Petrovitch, mentioned in so many books of travels, and renowned all over Europe, died at an advanced age, in the year 1830, bequeathing his authority to his nephew: and it was now a question whether the latter would be as capable of maintaining it as his predecessor.

Immediately after Mustapha's subjection, Reschid sent the new Vladika a summons to submit. It contained, as usual, threats, mingled with promises. The Prince was enjoined to appear before the Grand Vizier; when he would be sent to Constantinople, with favourable recommendations, and there receive the berat of a Prince, in like manner as the Servian ruler. If he refused he was threatened with utter destruction.

But the Vladika was not to be daunted by threats, or tempted by such promises. The chief of the Montenegrins had long enjoyed greater independence than the Servian prince; and he needed no berat, so long as his people were able to defend their freedom; if they ceased to have that power, no berat could protect him. He did not think it necessary to make a formal reply. The Montenegrins were astonished at the Grand Vizier's presumption, and laughed at it.

The Osmanlis now had recourse to arms. Namik Ali, the new Pacha of Scutari, sent to the Montenegrin defiles, by order of the Grand Vizier, seven thousand men: the Pacha's son commanded.

The Montenegrins were feeding their flocks, without apprehension, in the mountains; nor had they taken any precautions in consequence of the threats addressed to them. The Turks marched unexpectedly into their territory, and found the first village they came to—Martinitch—nearly deserted.

There were not more than twenty-four men there, but even these few at once seized their weapons. Ten of them were killed, the rest wounded, some houses were already in flames, those who were already disabled were taken prisoners, and that village, at least, seemed lost when the rest of the inhabitants rushed down from the mountains. The alarm had spread from cliff to cliff, and the people of the neighbouring villages hurried to the scene. Radoven Puljew, a dreaded chieftain of that district, led a hundred men from Bernitza; a scarcely inferior number came from Latche and Brajovitchi, making together a small force indeed, but sufficiently strong,

when aided by the nature of the ground, to engage in a murderous struggle. The Pacha of Scutari had fallen because his Albanians deserted him; the Bosnians had been conquered in consequence of their own dissensions. Incomparably smaller as was the force of the Montenegrins in general, and more particularly in these few villages, yet they all were united as one man. Treachery was not to be thought of amongst them. Once more they succeeded in repulsing the Turks; the latter carrying off their prisoners, whilst the Montenegrins on their side exhibited fifty Turkish heads.

To have repelled the foe was not enough for that brave people; they thirsted for revenge. One of their most important tribes, the Kutchi, attacked the Turkish villages of Tusi, and did not return until they had sacked and burned it.

Nor did Namik Ali remain quietly under his defeat. War was waged along the whole frontier. The Turks attacked many villages in other quarters; but were on all occasions repulsed.

We may calculate that a succession of such wars has been now going on, at least since the year 1604. There was even then a Pacha of Scutari, who, because the usual present had been refused him, advanced to Gliescopolje, and laid waste some districts. They killed his kiaia, and a number of his men, and successfully resisted the invasion of their territory; how often have they had to do so in the course of centuries! How often have they erected altars in their entrenchments: the priest who knelt before them to offer up prayers, needing to be girt with the sword, that in case of attack he might spring to his feet ready for defence. How often will they have to do this in times to come!*

The Grand Vizier would then have directed a general and powerful attack upon them, had not the Egyptian war broken out: the Sultan hoping that as he had subdued his European provinces, he should be able to maintain his hold on Asia, sent Reschid and his victorious army against Ibrahim.

* The prediction has been fulfilled recently, and may be again.

The Refugees.

The Grand Vizier, before he went to Asia, desired to ward off the danger which threatened the tranquillity of Bosnia from the refugees who had escaped into the Austrian territory. The inhabitants of Sarayevo had once more risen in insurrection, and attacked Kara Mahmoud, on the Goritza. He held his ground, however, and only the more strictly imposed his commands upon them. It might easily happen in the absence of the Grand Vizier and his army, that the return of the exiles would occasion a renewed and more successful attempt.

For this reason Reschid, before his departure, invited all the refugees to return. Prince Milosch acted as his envoy to them. The Grand Vizier promised them security for their persons and property : that is to say, for as much of the latter as they had with them; and that the whole Turkish empire should be open to them, with the exception of their own province. Of all men the Moslems can least endure exile from their native land : in a foreign country they miss every element of their accustomed life ; however, a great majority accepted the offer : even men so deeply compromised as the young Krdshali leader, Kara Teisia, who was guilty of the plundering of Sophia, took their chance, and again crossed the frontier.

Only a few were excepted from this amnesty, namely, the chief leaders, Hussein Kapetan, and his immediate companions ; and these only because a firman from the Sultan himself was requisite in their case. That firman at last arrived in Kemlin ; Hussein, who had resided in Esseck, with the rank of a Vizier, and under a lenient surveillance, was sent by the Austrian government to Semlin to receive the Sultan's offer.

With a retinue of a hundred men, surrounded by his faithful followers, Hussein appeared there in the beginning of October, 1832, and made his entry into Semlin with Oriental pomp. He rode an Arabian steed, covered with a saddle-cloth embroidered with gold and silver, holding an umbrella in his hand. When he dismounted, his trusty adherents, Ali Pacha Vidaitch and Krupa Kapetan, who had

never ceased to treat him as a Vizier, supported him on either side, and in this manner repaired to the Austrian commandant. There they read the firman. Its contents were not very consolatory. The safety of their lives was guaranteed to them, but they were bound to repair forthwith to Constantinople, where their place of abode should be assigned to them. Hussein's followers were less discouraged than himself. Ali Pacha remembered that he had formerly been a faithful servant of the Sultan, and hoped to gain consideration as one who might become so again. For Hussein the case was very hard. The Austrian government would not suffer him to remain near the frontier : but gave him his choice between a residence in Comorn, on the island of Schütt, or a return to Turkey, and allowed him only twenty-four hours to decide. Hussein was deeply dejected. He lamented that he had ever left Bosnia, and wished it had been his fate to die in battle. But being pressed for his decision, he gave it at last, and crossed over to Belgrade.

Since that time, order has been strictly maintained in Bosnia. The Christians, at least, have less to complain of with regard to the administration of justice. On the other hand, the taxes have greatly increased, and the trading classes complain bitterly on that score.

There are some ten thousand disciplined troops in the country, and they exercise before the Mosques to the deep regret of the Bosnians of the old way of thinking.

Many of the refugee Kapetans have already returned ; and so strong is the aristocratic element, that in many instances they have been appointed Musselims in their old districts. Ali Pacha Vidaitch has received the pardon he expected, and has already returned to Bosnia. But no one knows where Hussein lives or what has become of him.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL REMARKS.

Such has been hitherto the course of the movements in Bosnia. It is not to be supposed that they are completely suppressed, or that a more durable condition of things has been established in their place. We shall yet see them passing through many new phases.

But considered in general, there is something in them analogous with the phenomena observable in our own Western world.

The constitution was that of an aristocratic republic, such as has been developed among other Slavonian people, the Poles for instance; and was at various times essayed by the Hungarians, the neighbours of the Bosnians. For the requirements of a warlike, feud-loving, independent aristocracy, the relation in which they had placed themselves towards the Porte was not ill contrived, for they enjoyed the shelter of the empire to which they belonged; they had nothing to fear from any neighbour; and through their sovereign they were under the protection of the Powers of Europe. At the same time, they rendered no more obedience to the Sultan than they pleased; in their own province they exercised an authority but slightly limited; and it was with difficulty they could be induced to afford the empire the benefit of their service, even in its pressing need: they combined security with independence.

We have seen how the sovereign, finding this state of things intolerable, sought to alter it; and to what conflicts his efforts led. Out of those commotions there has certainly been evolved a state of feeling unlike what we experience in this part of Europe, and bearing the impress of another world.

What a strange medley of valour and deception, obedience and sudden revolt, wariness and blind confidence, boldness of purpose and resolute despair!

Force is exerted to its utmost limit; and when that is reached, he who finds himself undermost, with a stronger above him, submits to a destiny he cannot change.

Each man's feelings are centered in himself alone. Submissiveness there may be in those countries, so long as power or money commands it; but on true allegiance can no one reckon. A league between a number of chiefs, co-equal in rights, a voluntary subordination of independent men under one leader, will not hold good even in the moment of danger. No one takes account of a remote ally; the next moment and the present is all-in-all to every man; he thinks only of himself.

Two acquirements are especially cultivated: skill in arms, for personal protection in danger which presents itself in the shape of petty warfare, and, perhaps, in a certain connection therewith of secrecy, dissimulation, and craft; for individual prowess has by nature but a confined scope action. Neither industry nor study occupies the mind of a Turk; of literature and art he knows nothing; for real education he has no taste: his talents serve only to the achievement of that highest Turkish accomplishment, dissimulation. He is not so unimpassioned as his calm, composed, unchanging aspect would denote; that outward quiet often conceals an impetuous spirit of desire. The Grand Vizier, Reschid Pacha, possessed this power of dissimulation in the highest degree: he had contrived to wear not only a calm demeanour, but even one so frank and open as to inspire confidence; he appeared a good-natured man, who had no covert designs to conceal: but all this was consummate art. The Albanian Beys, whom he invited in 1830, did not trust him: they brought with them armed retainers; but his unconstrained manner put them off their guard; they visited him, and whilst taking coffee they were shot down by concealed Arnauts.

For, after long forbearance, as soon as the Turk has his foe within his grasp, hideous, revolting cruelty forthwith follows.

Against rebels to his authority, the Sultan usually has this advantage, that he delegates his power only to one man, whose existence depends on his dealing adroitly with them: whereas the rebels—for seldom is a single one strong enough to resist—are wont to consider their several interests, and fall off from each other. There are always deserters and traitors; no victory occurs without treachery: both custom and religion then authorize extreme acts of violence. Human life is accounted of no value; the footsteps of the dominant

power are marked with blood; it never occurs to any one to complain; to do so would be to murmur against God: *in* the author of his misfortune, the victim is bound to revere the instrument of eternal Providence.

This whole system of things has, after all, its origin in the national religion; we find it in like manner in all Mahomedan countries.

I know not whether I deceive myself in thinking that in the midst of these unrestrained impulses, I yet discover in the Bosnians some other elements: not only in the simplicity and the patriarchal customs of their private life, such as Islamism everywhere favours; but I view in the midst of the unceasing changes they have witnessed, a feeling of confidence in the preservation of their nationality, associated with reminiscences of their ancient grandeur, when they acknowledged in the Sultan the possessor of Czarship, a legitimate sovereign; and which impels them, more than at any former period, to maintain the nationality of their province, or at the least to secure for themselves an existence protected by the laws. In the midst of faithlessnes, there is yet fidelity, as in Vidaitch's league of brotherhood with Hussein: out of the thousand disintegrating movements there is now and then a grand feeling of unity developed.

Amidst these movements, the history of the empire itself has made an important progress.

The fact is manifest: through the Sultan's conflict with his aristocracy the whole Moslem system is tottering to its fall.

Many at first persuaded themselves that the Ottoman Empire would find increased strength in its new soldiery; but those who had a nearer view of affairs, and who saw the pride and the awkwardness with which the exercises were performed, the jealousy with which all foreign officers were excluded from command and the incurable incapacity of the native officers, could not but, from the first, entertain a different opinion. In the campaign of 1828 the Prussian officers found that of all the Turkish troops, those who had been disciplined were the worst: they had lost the good qualities possessed by the others, and had acquired none of their own. Hence they have suffered the greatest defeats in Europe and Asia, and have twice placed the throne in extreme jeopardy. Though they put down the Bosnian and

Albanian rebels, that result, as we have seen, is to be attributed not so much to their valour as to the craft of the Vizier, the want of steadfastness in the Bosnian Kapetans, and the faithlessness of the Albanians.*

* "For ages, the finest cavalry seen in Europe was indisputably that of the Turks. In great part, both men and horses were brought over from the Asiatic provinces of the empire, and the rest of the men and horses were principally of Asiatic descent. The horses, though not large (seldom much exceeding fourteen hands), were nimble, spirited, and yet docile, and so trained and bitted as to be perfectly under control: the hollow saddle was rather heavy, but all the rest of the appointments were light: the soldier rode in the broad short stirrup to which he and his ancestors had always been accustomed, and on which the rider had a firm and (to them) natural seat, out of which it was most difficult to throw him: his scimitar was light and sharp, and in addition to it he generally carried in his girdle that shorter, slightly-curved weapon called the yataghan, with an edge like a razor. Some of the Spahis carried long lances or spears; but these were always thrown aside, as useless, in the mêlée of battle. Their tactics were few and simple. If they could not get in the small end of one wedge, they tried another and another wedge; if they penetrated the hostile line, they dealt death around them, their sharp weapons usually inflicting mortal wounds or lopping off limbs. If the enemy gave way, they spread out like a fan, and while some pressed on the front, others turned the flanks and got into the rear. Occasionally, to gain time, the Turks mounted some of their infantry *en croupe* behind their Spahis. Thus, early in the battle of Ryminik, when they had to contend with Marshal Suwarow and some Austrians, a body of 6000 Janissaries jumped up behind an equal number of Turkish horsemen, and were carried at full speed to occupy a commanding eminence, of which the Austrians were also desirous of taking possession. But we have seen, even in our own day, this effective and really brilliant cavalry reduced, by the spirit of imitation and ill-understood reform, to a condition beneath contempt. The late Sultan Mahmoud must needs have his cavalry disciplined *alla Franca*, or in Christian fashion; and he imported a number of French, Italian, and German non-commissioned officers, to teach his men to ride with long stirrups, and to form, dress, and look like Europeans. To the disgust and even dismay of his Mahomedan subjects, he buttoned them up in close jackets and put them into tight pantaloons. With a most perverse determination, the system has been continued and extended these last twelve years, under his son and successor, the present Sultan Abdul-Medjid; and it may now safely be said that the Turkish cavalry is the very worst in the world. The men, always accustomed to sit cross-legged, and to keep their knees near the abdomen, cannot be taught to ride with the long stirrup à la Française. They are always rolling off, and get frequently ruptured; they are armed with the lance, and have seldom any other weapon except an ill-made, blunt, awkward sabre. Their horses are now wretched *rosses;* the good breeds have

But if the reforms are not profitable in a military point of view, in many other respects they are positively dangerous. They are contrary to their ordinary habits and are opposed to their national faith, which is for the most part bound up with outward observances, and most intimately blended with custom; they weaken, nay destroy, the moral elements on which repose the social and the political existence of the land; they strip the Sultan of that religious reverence on which, in the minds of his subjects, his authority is based.

At the same time, let us not omit to say that the subject has yet another aspect. The destructive operations of the new system chiefly affect the Moslems and their relations among themselves; for the Rayahs, on the contrary, it is highly advantageous.

When, in 1690,—nearly a century and a half ago,—the phrase *Nisame Jedid*, "the new order of things," was revived by Selim after a long interval, it signified not so much a new military institution as the amelioration of the Rayah's condition; the design was even then conceived of freeing the Christian subjects from the thousand oppressions imposed upon them by the tyranny of their Moslem rulers, and subjecting them only to a single direct tax, whereby their circumstances would have been infinitely improved.*

died out; and the imperial centralizing tyranny—masked under the names of reform and civilization—which has been raging with more or less intensity these last fifty years, has not left on the surface of the empire a man of hereditary rank and wealth, or any private country gentleman, with the means of restoring the lost breeds, or of supplying such good light cavalry horses as existed in abundance at the commencement of the present century. The Karasman Oglus, the Paswan Oglus, and all the great Asiatic feudatories, together with the hereditary Spahi chiefs of Rumelia, who kept up the principal studs, are all gone. Mounted as they are, armed as they are, and riding as they do, instead of dealing with European horsemen after the summary fashion of the good old Turks, any English hussar ought to be able to dispose in a minute of half a dozen of Abdul-Medjid's troopers, trained *alla Franca*, though he (the hussar) were armed only with a stout walking-stick. Add to these effects of ill-considered European imitation (which has scarcely better succeeded applied to the Turkish infantry), the decline, or rather utter extinction of all religious fervour and all national feeling, and it will be understood how well prepared is the army of the Ottoman empire to resist an attack, let it come whence it may or when it may."—"Cavalry, its History and Tactics." By Captain L. E. Nolan. London, 1853.

* Hammer: "Osmanische Geschichte," vi. 551.

Although that meaning was not afterwards attached to the phrase, its realization has nevertheless been the principal result of the innovations effected.

These are intrinsically of an administrative character; and as they aim at an extinction of Mahomedan privileges, also include a suppression of arbitrary acts. The custom of regularly paying an army necessitates financial institutions, which cannot be worked without a special habit of forbearance towards the tax payers. The most prosperous and well administered districts were formerly those whose revenues were destined immediately for the Porte; in these the farming of the taxes ceased, and all the provinces of the empire were placed on a similar footing by the plans of the Grand Vizier Reschid.

Another circumstance is conducing towards the same result.

The preponderance of the Moslem population has hitherto depended on their privilege to carry arms; but in the course of the last movements arms have been put into the hands of the Rayahs. The Grand Vizier prevailed over the Pacha of Scutari chiefly through treachery: for but few serious engagements took place; and in those I find that Christian tribes behaved best. In Bosnia, the two most eminent chieftains, Hussein of Gradatchatz and Ali Aga of Stolatz, mutually opposed as they were in other respects, were yet alike in this: both rose and maintained themselves chiefly by protecting and arming the Christian population.

To comprehend the scope of this remark, we have but to recollect that the emancipation of Servia and of Greece began from the same point. It was permitted to a Christian population to take up arms; and when an attempt was made again to deprive them of those arms, they stood on their defence. Their success in that struggle led them to freedom.

This feeling of self-reliance which the Rayahs have thus acquired in the other provinces also, will never again depart from them; and already they have in all parts arrived at a greatly improved condition.

The Bosnian Kapetans have been constrained to grant them many immunities; under the new order of things also the Christians enjoy much more security, and are much less burthened, than under the old. In Herzegovina, where from

a very remote period there have been free Christian communities living under favour of special concessions from the Sultan, they must now rather have gained the ascendancy since their friend Ali Aga, whom they helped to render powerful, has been raised to the rank of Pacha. In Rumelia and Bulgaria, Reschid has granted extraordinary alleviations to the Christians, and a stop has been put to the arbitrary acts of the Moslems. Many of the petty vexatious distinctions between the respective members of the two faiths have been abolished; the rural municipalities to which have been assigned the duty of apportioning and collecting the amount of taxation due by them collectively, and of conducting their ordinary affairs through elected officers, are augmenting day by day. Urquhart found the memory of that Grand Vizier held in grateful veneration; and he is of opinion that Roumelia was more ably managed by him than was Greece by Capodistrias.

I mentioned in the beginning the contrast between the two most recent English travellers; and I think I may venture to assert, without fear of error, that a yet more general view may be taken of the subject.

Slade condemns the Sultan's reforms; for he finds under the former state of things a freedom such as was often to be sought for in vain throughout Europe: an exemption from tithes and oppressive dues, from irksome surveillance of the police, and from compulsory service in war: and that every man was eligible to attain to the highest offices of the State.* His opinion is, that the Sultan should have engrafted his reforms upon the old institutions, resting on a superior hierarchy, hereditary nobility, and provincial magistracy; instead of which, by destroying this system, he only thought of increasing his own personal influence, and thus, more than his five predecessors altogether, he accelerated the ruin of his empire.

Urquhart, on the contrary, approves of Mahmoud's under-

* He goes so far as to compare the Janissaries with a Chamber of Deputies, because they could easily compel the Sovereign to dismiss his ministers. "The Janissaries of Constantinople somewhat resembled a Chamber of Deputies, for they often compelled the Sovereign to change his ministers; and any talented factious member among them who had the art of inflaming men's passions, was sure to obtain a good employment, in order to appease him." Is this said in jest or earnest?

takings. "Three things," he exclaims, "has the Sultan accomplished, which all his predecessors, since Mahomet the Fourth, have desired: the suppression of the Janissaries, the extirpation of the Dere-beys, and the subjugation of Albania. He can be no ordinary man under whom such things as these have been achieved." In the destruction of the pride of the Osmanli, which alone could render a regular administration and the practical application of existing resources possible, he sees rather a guarantee for the future welfare of the empire than a cause for its decay.

We see plainly that the discrepancy between our travellers arises from the difference of their points of view.

Slade takes his view from the midst of the privileged classes, and finds that their accustomed habits and their manner of life have undergone a change. In this he is unquestionably right; for that the cohesive force of the Ottoman Empire has been incalculably weakened, is beyond doubt. Urquhart's attention is directed chiefly to the subject classes, the Rayahs. He is of opinion that their condition is much improved, and offers now great and extended resources. Though he manifestly assigns too early a date to what he calls their municipal system, yet the result he has arrived at from his own observation is not to be denied.

If we forbear for a while from forming any conclusion as to the duration or fall of the empire; if we seek only to comprehend the result that has occurred, then it is manifest that these two consequences—both alike undeniable—coincide and may be reciprocally deduced from each other: they both merit equal consideration: the Moslem strength is weakened; the Christian population is advancing. This has been chiefly developed during the last ten years. Two great Christian populations have already attained the blessing of freedom. Greece has reached an independent existence under the influential protection of the European powers. Servia has become free through its internal progress, for step by step it is continually liberating itself from Ottoman influences; and whilst it has been greatly extending its boundaries, new populations have been summoned to the enjoyment of equal independence. Furthermore, the subject races in all the other European provinces have been roused by the late movements to assert similar claims. An impulse only seems want-

ing to make a Christian Bosnia and a Christian Bulgaria come forth by the side of their Mahomedan namesakes. I look upon this rapid decline of the Moslems, this elevation of the Christians, this antagonism of the two creeds, as the grand process now in course of completion in the European portions of the Ottoman Empire.

Paradoxical as it may seem, I am inclined to say that the question, whether the Ottoman Empire shall continue to subsist, or whether it shall perish, is, for the present, almost independent of that process; for the solution of the question depends upon wholly different considerations.

It appears certain that the Ottoman Empire, under its present circumstances, will for some length of time be incapable of measuring its strength with that of any other European power. If the reforms continue, it will be long ere they can be made to coalesce with the customs of the land; the administrative improvements, too, will be of more benefit to the Rayahs than to the court, unless the latter can check the avarice and corruption of its functionaries, and put a stop to the pernicious system of the sale of offices, and to the loans by means of which the Armenian bankers exercise so great an influence over the Pachalics. But should a reaction against these reforms again manifest itself, and be successful, the empire would then fall to pieces. Neither in the one case nor the other will the Osmanli again venture to think of provoking the hostilities of any European power.

Their existence is, therefore, dependent on the political views of the great Powers. This has long been the case; but it is even more so now than ever.

This guarantee is truly of a most singular kind, proceeding not so much from their common agreement as from their conflicting interests and mutual jealousies, while, perhaps, from that very cause, it is only the more certain.

It seemed for a moment as though the policy of the Great Powers on Oriental affairs would formally separate in two different directions.

The two chief reformers, the Sultan and his Egyptian vassal, at length became involved in war with each other; and in the danger in which the Sultan suddenly found himself placed by Mahomet Ali's superior abilities, he turned to

England, his old ally. It was plainly the interest of England to take him under her protection. But the foreign policy of the modern Whigs is incomprehensible: having other questions on their hands, though of inferior importance, and being occupied with other subjects, they let the matter rest. The Sultan had, therefore, no choice. Threatened in his very existence by his vassal, and repulsed by his old allies, he threw himself into the arms of Russia, obtained decisive aid from that power in the most critical moment, and concluded a treaty with her against similar contingencies in future.

Then at last England seemed to become aware what it was she had neglected; it seemed as though the Whigs would now set themselves in good earnest to oppose the development of the new relations entered into between Russia and Turkey; perhaps they now really believed English interests to be endangered, or that they were afraid of the opposition they would thereby encounter on the opening of parliament. The French took part with them: the animated declaration they put forth is known. Both ministerial parties evinced much zeal on the question.

The controversy which thus arose had a double import: first it concerned the relation of the Sultan towards Russia, and next towards Mahomed Ali.

As to the former, the English and the French professed a lively solicitude for the self-subsistence of Turkey.

But no one who does not willingly suffer himself to be the dupe of preconceived and vulgar prejudices can admit that Russia cherishes serious designs upon Turkey. Considering the manifold inherent wants of her own immense territory, the problematical task which she would undertake, by the acquisition of new provinces, would be almost impracticable. For the population of those provinces, accustomed to old immunities, given to insurrection from traditionary usage, wild and intractable, and often fanatical in their Mahomedanism, would be very difficult to control. Moreover, they could easily offer a stouter resistance than Europe supposes; and were the Sultan in accord with his people, an armed opposition, not easy to overcome, would speedily be organized. But such are not by any means the weightiest considerations; for these consist in the general interconnexion of European affairs. It might have been that Catherine the Second

thought of the conquest of Constantinople; but how much have the times changed since then? An isolated Eastern interest exists no longer: all questions run into each other, and form as it were but one; and a sound policy forbids an enterprise that would cause incalculable complication, set Europe in agitation from one end to the other, and in return would yield but dubious advantages, such as the Russian Empire could well dispense with. What Russia had need of, what was necessary for the development of her provinces on the Black Sea, she obtained by the last peace.

Now this being self-apparent, and confirmed by definite declarations—the two maritime powers, moreover, being no longer uneasy on the subject—the only question is, whether the position in which the Sultan stands towards Mahomed Ali does not threaten a speedy renewal of these difficulties.

I cannot believe that it will, because the interests of the English and the French are mutually opposed in this respect.

The French would not be disinclined to support Mohammed Ali. In the first place they are by nature fond of commotion and revolution, and Mahomed, besides, has long been under their influence: how confidently, for instance, did Admiral Roussin anticipate his compliance, as soon as France should express her wishes. The English, on the other hand, are no friends to that Pacha: he is too powerful for them, too revolutionary; they would never look complacently on the progress of a conqueror in Asia, at whose name nations might rally, and who might easily come into direct or indirect contact with their East Indian possessions.

Some politicians of the positive school in France, for some such there are still, even there, are inclined to think that an alliance with the rising Egyptian power might serve as a support against the naval superiority of England; and the expedition of Algiers is supposed to have been devised with that view:—and the English still more clearly perceive that their influence in the East is more secure under Mahmoud than it would be under Mahomed Ali.

It is a curious fact, that at the moment when England and Russia seemed to differ on the Eastern question, it could not be denied that with respect to the immediate subject of the quarrel, their interests were identical; for from the

nature of things they are both interested in the preservation of the Sultan's Empire.

And whilst the Sultan is under such twofold powerful protection, he has little to fear from any new enterprises on the part of Mahomed Ali, even were they made with still stronger forces. Decidedly the French will not support him; for if their league with England endure, the latter will have influence enough to oppose any policy contrary to her wishes and requirements; and should it be dissolved, England is powerful enough to counteract any operations of her neighbour.

Add to this, the pacific views of the two great German powers, which they act upon in order to bring about an issue consistent with their natural tendency.

We may, therefore, fairly conclude that the interests of the European states—so long as no general war breaks out on other grounds—will for some time to come have the effect they have hitherto had: namely, to uphold the Ottoman Empire.

Under their protection, the progress which has thus begun in that state, will continue.

If we consider this state of things—the dependence of Turkey on the convenience and good pleasure of the European Powers—in connection with the internal process we have noticed as at work in the empire, we shall rise, not from a fanciful view, but with a clear and unobstructed perception of current facts, to the contemplation of a universal historic principle.

The vitality of the human race is at this day centered in the nations of the Roman and Germanic stocks, and in those which they have incorporated and assimilated with themselves. However manifold may be our internal discords, however various and often hostile our tendencies, we yet constitute one whole in contrast with the rest of the world.* Once there flourished other nations,—great ethnological groups,—animated by other principles, and concerned in the adoption, progress, and significant development of internal in-

* The warlike Hattischeriff of December 18, 1827, regards the Franks collectively as enemies; it yet calls to mind the tradition "that the unbelievers constitute only one single nation."

stitutions; now it can scarcely be said that any such remain. With what threatening power did Islamism confront the West! It is not very long since that the roving Tartars swept through Poland as far as the German frontiers, and that the Ottomans possessed Hungary and laid siege to Vienna. How far behind us have we now left all such dangers!

If we inquire into the causes of the internal decline of the Turkish Empire, and regard them under their most general manifestation, we must affirm that it is owing to the fact that the empire is opposed to another section of the world immeasurably superior to itself in power. That other section could crush it to atoms in a moment; and while suffering it to exist for reasons of its own, yet, by a secret necessity, it exerts upon it an indirect and irresistible influence.

The Ottoman Empire is overpowered and penetrated in all directions by the Christian system. We do not mean by that expression the Christian religion; nor would the words culture, civilization, fully convey our idea; but it is being enlightened by the genius of the West: by that spirit which transforms nations into disciplined armies, that traces roads, cuts canals, covers all the seas with fleets and converts them into its own property, which fills remote continents with colonies, that has taken possession of the domains of knowledge and cultivates them with unflagging industry; which maintains order and law among men, in spite of the diversities of their passions. We see this spirit making prodigious progress. It has won America from the crude forces of nature and of intractable tribes, and has thoroughly transformed it; by various paths it is penetrating the remotest parts of Asia, and only China* still remains closed against it; it surrounds Africa on all her coasts: unceasing, multiform, inapproachable, irresistibly supplied with arms and science, it vanquishes the world. Within the last ten years it has made prodigious advances in the Ottoman Empire: it has created sources of diffusion for itself in Greece and Servia, Egypt and Constantinople.

There is a difference between Mahomed and Mahmoud. The Pacha's innovations are more Oriental, more thoroughly

* This exception no longer exists, since China is being revolutionized by Christian influences.

oppressive; whilst the Sultan is forced to consider his Christian subjects, and to allow scope for their free will. In this respect it would be a misfortune were Mahomed Ali to extend his power over the European provinces. But this difference infers no essential opposition; for in the main they tend towards the same end: instruments of that superior tendency of the world which overrules their inclinations and purposes and all their strife. The spirit of Mahomedan polity has not been true to itself; its complexion is growing wan; the genius of the West is overpowering it.

Happen what may, we can venture confidently to assert that this onward progress cannot be checked; amidst the thousandfold divergent efforts of mankind it will, in one way or another, pursue its unalterable course.

Note on Page 316.

On the Decrease of the Christian Population in Turkey.—In the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, it is, as we have already stated, exceedingly difficult to trace out the apostacy of a great part of the Christian population to Mohamedanism.

Travellers have collected only cursory notices on the subject: and local information is not to be expected.*

With regard, however, to the history of the East, there is a source of information as yet not adverted to in the reports delivered by Romish Nuncios, or visitors, to the Pope or the Propaganda. The attention of the writers must necessarily have been fixed upon the progress of apostacy from Christianity, and diffusion of Mahomedanism.

I have had the opportunity at Rome of looking into some

* What may be expected even from works that treat expressly on those countries, may be seen from the example of Johann Gerhard. He wrote a book not wanting in merit: "Spicilegium observationum historico-geographicarum de Bosniæ regno 1737." He has also given in it a chapter on the inhabitants, p. 134; but had so few data respecting them, that he was under the necessity of filling up his space with meagre notices of the Uskoks.

of these reports; and, as we have now come to speak of the matter, will state the facts that may be deduced from them.

They relate principally to Albania, and commence from the close of the sixteenth century.

1. "Relatione del Padre D. Alessandro Comuleo, Arciprete di S. Hieronymo di Roma, sopra le Cose del Turco." Bibl. Barberiana, nr. 3392.

In the year 1594, Clement VIII sent the Archpriest Comuleo to Transylvania, Moscow, and Poland, to prepare the way for a Turkish war. It appears that this priest ventured even into Turkey; at least we find the above-named relation under his hand, immediately after the instructions given him by the Pope. It is but slight; however, the author promises more detailed information, whenever the Pope shall desire it. The peculiarity of the report we actually possess consists chiefly in an enumeration of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire capable of bearing arms. He reckons 140,000 fighting men in Albania and Macedonia; 100,000 in Herzegovina, Sclavonia, and Croatia; as many in Servia; 200,000 in Bosnia: all Latin or Greek Christians, mortal foes to their Mahomedan rulers. I know not how far the author is justified in this computation by precise intelligence; but I think it was communicated to him by natives.

2. "Relatione della visita fatta da me, Marino Bizzi, Arcivescovo d'Antivari, nelle parti della Turchia, Albania, e Servia, alla stà di Nro. Sgre. P. Paolo V." 1610. Bibl. Barberina, nr. 1160. 75 folios.

The Archbishop of Antivari had a special vocation to travel through those countries, since he claimed the primacy of the kingdom of Servia, and even thought he had a right to the formal possession of Herzegovina.

He did not penetrate into the Bosno-Servian mountains; but sent for a priest from Pristina, who gave him information as to the condition of the Christians in those parts. The Bishop of Sophia likewise visited him, and related to him particulars respecting his own diocese.

Many Catholic Christians were still found everywhere. The Bishop even boasted of the conversion of some members of the Greek Church.

But their numbers were, by comparison, greater in Albania.

Marino Bizzi reckons that of 400,000 inhabitants—who could have imagined it?—350,000 were Catholics. To ten Christians he finds one Turk. He cannot sufficiently extol the devotion of these people; for even before they enter the church, they repeat a prayer at the door. In witnessing their processions, in which they separate into two choirs, triumphantly chaunting "Christe eleison! Kyrie eleison!" his enthusiasm is called forth. The memory of their national hero, Scanderbeg, is still preserved amongst them. In later times, it appears that only short songs are to be found among the Albanians, resembling the Greek more than the Servian ballads; but in those days they celebrated the deeds of Scanderbeg in long heroic lays.

With all this devotion, and this consciousness of nationality, it was yet clear to Marino Bizzi that there was much reason to apprehend apostacy. The priests were exceedingly ignorant: they no longer understood the Latin masses they read; they neglected to administer the sacraments of the Catholic Church, especially extreme unction; they tolerated marriages within the forbidden degrees; and were wholly incapable of imparting instruction.

The defection to Mahomedanism had then already begun. The Albanians were of opinion that men must obey the ruler of the land to whom God had once given it; and they did not conceal the fact that their only object was to obtain an alleviation from their burdens; it was enough, they thought, if they remained Christians at heart, whilst they outwardly conformed to the observances of Mahomedanism. Thus it occurred, that often the men became Mahomedans whilst the women remained Christians; and under those circumstances, it often happened that an over-zealous monk excluded the women from Church communion, which was the cause of their going over to Islamism. The Bishop himself informs us that he at one time was the guest of a Spahi, whose father had lately become a Turk; he having apostatized "on account of worldly considerations." Another time, he lodged with a Moslem who had bought his wife for a few piastres from her father, and she was still a Christian. Christians and Turks intermarried without much public scandal; and frequently whole villages apostatized, to escape the poll-tax.

In the Slavonian districts, sometimes all the heads of families had adopted Islamism; their wives and children still remaining Christians.

"It is the general opinion," exclaims Marino Bizzi, "that if Christianity does not soon receive assistance in Albania and Servia, it will be extinguished in ten years."

But this prediction was not so rapidly fulfilled; as other documents prove.

3. "Scritture di Alessandro Macedonio," 1618. (Archivio Venetiano.)

In the course of my researches on the relations between the Venetians and the Neapolitan Viceroy Ossuna, I lighted on these papers in the despatches of Spinelli of July 22, 1618, and January, 1618, M. V., *i. e.*, 1619.

They are memorials from a settler abroad, who sought to move Christian Sovereigns and Princes—among others, the Viceroy himself—to an enterprize against the Turks.

Though he thus gives us some reason to suspect that he may have exaggerated the facility of such an enterprize, his data are nevertheless worthy of notice.

He finds in Macedonia, in which he includes Bulgaria and Servia, "free inhabitants, who have never submitted to the Turks, and who live under laws framed by themselves. There are a hundred Christians to one Turk. The Albanians are trained to arms from their infancy; and there are more men fit for war there than in any other Christian state. Their barbarous ruler has never had the courage to deprive them of their weapons, much less their children, as in other provinces; nor has he been able to supersede the true faith with his false religion.. A close union subsists among the principal families; and each of these can bring some fifty men into the field, who choose—apparently from among the brethren of the chief families—the bravest for their leaders, to whom they plight themselves for life or death. In Servia and Bulgaria the people are very handsome, of tall stature, and skilful in the use of weapons, although at present they are only allowed to carry long staves; they are religious, upright, trusty, stedfast, and full of eager desire to expel the enemy from their territory."

In Albania, he estimated that there were a hundred Christians to one Turk; in Herzegovina he found very few

Turks; and in Bosnia their number less than that of the Christians.

We cannot reject everything he says; nevertheless he puts the fair side rather prominently forward. Even he cannot deny that many had already apostatized to Mahomedanism; but he appears to have believed that the renegades would return to Christianity.

4. "Informatione di Fra Bonaventura di S. Antonio," 1632;
5. "Summario della relatione della visita d'Albania fatta da Don Marco Crisio," 1651; both in the Chigi Library at Rome. G. iii. 94.
6. "Notizie universali dello stato di Albania e' dell' operato da Monsr. Zmaievich, arcivescovo di Antivari, visitatore apostolico di Albania, esaminate nelle congregationi generali della propaganda fede di 3 Debr. 1703—12 Febr. 1704." Bibl. Barb.

What Bizzi had feared as imminent, happened gradually at a subsequent period.

During the seventeenth century the change to Mahomedanism went on with great rapidity.

I have already, in the book on Servia, mentioned the traveller Mintealbano, who went about the year 1625 from Ragusa by way of Fotsha to Novipasar, and observed the curious blending in families of Christians and Turks. This implies only that some members had already apostatised, while others had not. Already he found natives holding the rank of Sandshaks and Beys.

The abovenamed ecclesiastical reports give us facts concerning Albania.

Fra Bonaventura complains that in many parishes there had been no clergyman for twenty years. Don Marco Crisio finds even the bishoprics vacant, and the apostacy of the male sex very considerable.

In fact, the great revolution had already taken place; and it must have been effected in the first half of the seventeenth century. Bizzi had reckoned 350,000 Catholics in Albania. Don Marco Crisio finds their numbers decreased nearly to 50,000.

Now, even though we assume that the numbers given by the former are too great, and those by the latter too small,

it is still manifest that the decrease was excessive and unparalleled.

Since then it has gone on constantly; we can trace it, by the help of an account of the date of 1671, and the report of Archbishop Zmaievitch, very accurately.

In the year 1651 the archbishopric of Durazzo had already sustained great losses, but it still numbered 14,000 souls; in the year 1671 the decrease was as yet hardly discernible; there were still 13,650 Catholics; in the year 1703 they had dwindled down to little more than 8,000. A very pernicious influence is imputed to the negligence of the Archbishop of Galata.

The bishopric of Sappa, in 1651, had still 124,000 souls; in 1671 only 9,230, who, in 1703, had further decreased to 7,971. In Scutari, in 1671, they still reckoned 20,270 Catholics; two and thirty years later, in 1703, only 12,700.

Other circumstances may have contributed to this result, but the chief cause was the apostacy which resulted from political oppression.

Zmaievitch himself relates an instance in which two thousand souls went over to Islamism to avoid a heavy tribute that was about to be imposed upon a district.

Even so near to our own times, when every one believed the Turkish Empire to be already in full process of decay, was this change accomplished.

Perhaps it is reserved for our epoch to witness a re-action against this grievous result.

THE SLAVE PROVINCES OF TURKEY.

CHIEFLY FROM THE FRENCH OF

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Professor of Slave Literature in the College of France.

WITH ADDITIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES.

THE SLAVE PROVINCES OF TURKEY.

CHAPTER I.

THE INSURRECTIONS IN TURKEY IN 1849-50-51.

A MOMENT of supreme crisis has arrived for the Ottoman Empire. Its conduct towards its ex-Rayahs is about to decide the question whether it is capable of opening up for itself a new career of glory, or whether it will sit supine and dwindle away under its faded laurels. All eyes can see more and more clearly the increasing progress in the East of the Christian spirit and of the Christian nationalities, which are daily escaping more and more from the enfeebled grasp of Islamism. Hence the Divan thinks it is for its own interest to rely on the Christians as much as on the Osmanlis themselves, and in some sort even more. All the last reforms are in favour of the Christians: the new Stamboul seems desirous of marching in the steps of Byzantium. The hellenism of the Constantines was sustained in its decline only by the sympathies of the West; the means of winning those sympathies, consisted, as at this day, in social reform, or the abolition of the schism which parts the East from the West. In our time the Othman caliphs promise and try to Europeanize themselves, just as the Paleogi promised the councils of the West that they would Latinize their empire.

This policy of expediency is good with a view to adjourning the catastrophe, but it cannot regenerate. Rechid Pacha, who has pursued it on the Bosphorus with a sort of desperate pertinacity for so many years, is not the man to shape the destinies of the future. His system of assimilating Turks and Christians is becoming more and more manifestly

impossible. Twice as numerous as the Osmanlis, the Slave ex-Rayahs will not forget their nationality. Were they willing to do so, Russia would be there to hinder them; Russia, whose eye is bent upon them as that of an eagle on its prey. The Russian emissaries on the Danube are incessant in their efforts to rekindle the antipathy of the Slaves towards their conquerors; they seduce their primates by promises, and bestow on their popes liturgies, containing prayers for the orthodox Tsar and his family, prayers which are chanted in all the churches of Turkey. Religion, therefore, still more than language, will maintain among the Slave subjects of the Porte the invincible instinct of a nationality distinct from that of the Ottomans.

The eternal rivalry between these two races of men accounts for the desperate revolts of the Turks upon the occasion of every fresh effort to bring them into coalition with their former serfs. Thence the permanent effervescence in Anatolia and Syria, and those conspiracies to massacre the Christians in the towns of Asia, as at Aleppo, where the iron will of the celebrated General Bem was alone able to restore order. Mohammedan Asia is separating morally more and more from that *infidel* Turkey in Europe; and the conflict seems on the eve of being renewed between the Cabinet of Constantinople and the successor of Mohammed Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, Abbas, the fanatical enemy of the European reform. In this situation the Sultan could not do better than rely still more on the Christian forces of his empire, which alone can insure his triumph over insurgent old Islamism.

Among the Christians the predominance belongs to Slaves, —to the Bulgarians and Serbs. Those two peoples, if united, could easily raise a formidable army. The Bulgarians alone number more than four millions, established from the mouths of the Danube to Mount Athos in Thessaly, whilst in the direction of the Bosphorus their countless flocks overspread the pastures of Rumelia, up to the walls of Adrianople. In another direction the Serbs, extending from Belgrade into the heart of Albania, occupy in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro, mountains strategically the easiest to defend in all Europe. Unfortunately the Turkish conquest has established in Bulgaria, and still more in Bosnia, a sort of feudal

nobility, composed of renegade Slaves, called by their Christian brethren *Poturitsi* (Turkicised). Each of these lords inflicts upon the poor Rayahs, from his *koula*, or fortified castle, all the depredations of the tyrants of the middle ages.

Among the Bulgarians, it is true, anarchy is less deeply rooted than in Bosnia. The aristocracy of the renegades has not obtained the same growth among them. Moreover, the more centralized character of their country allows of more unity in national development; they are also better educated. The number of high schools is increasing among them in an astonishing rate, notwithstanding their penury. Their domestic industry, and the produce of their soil, constitute the most indispensable element of life for Turkey in Europe. Their late Vizier, old Hussein of Vidin, who governed them for more than a quarter of a century, almost without interruption, literally fattened on their sweat. Like the Pacha of Egypt he was a consummate adept in all kinds of monopoly. This Mohammed Ali of the Danube, spread, like a net, over all Bulgaria his superintendents and factors, who bought up all manufactured goods, and every standing crop, even before it was ripe. But, whilst the Bulgarians denounced their Vizier's avarice, they owned that they sold to him at still higher rates than to strangers. This was the reason why Hussein enjoyed the fruits of his monopolies in peace for so many years: his court had all the splendour of a king's.

In Bosnia we find nothing of the kind; there deeper wounds require more energetic remedies; and there, accordingly, the Vizier Tahir had a very different lot from that of old Hussein. Being commissioned by the Sultan utterly to crush the aristocracy of the renegade Beys, Tahir was under the necessity of acting with extreme severity. Hence he was looked up to as a guardian angel by the Rayahs, whose quarrel he espoused on all occasions. One of his last acts was the abolition of every kind of forced labour, and the reduction of the countless duties payable by the Bosnian peasant, to a single tax, which was never to exceed the third of his crop; and the quota is determined in every village, not as before, by the Spahi, but by the primates and the elders of the place. In all the pachaliks subject to him, Tahir, the uncompromising foe to the old *régime*, caused the bastinado

to be administered, without mercy, to the proud Spahis, who refused compliance with the new imperial prescriptions and reforms. Accordingly we find him thus extolled in 1848, in Gaï's "Illyrian Journal," the organ of the Serb and Yugo-Slave interests :—

"All the Christians of Bosnia are now receiving a new life. Why cannot their unfortunate forefathers come to life again? They would see how just the Government of Bosnia is become, and that all the vexations of serfdom have ceased at once, as though they had never existed. May Providence bestow on Abdul-Medjid many a Vizier like the glorious Tahir Pacha, and the stock of Othman will soon flourish again!"

The Bulgarians and Serbs of Turkey were in the situation we have just sketched, when the Austrian revolution of 1848 broke out, followed by the terrible Hungarian war. The two dying lions of Travnik and Vidin were no longer vigorous enough to keep down the spirit then aroused. Hussein and Tahir felt their courage sink before the Bulgarian Christians and the Bosnian Spahis. The former voluntarily yielded his place to the rash Zia Pacha; the latter, by too tardy an indulgence, inspired the mountain Beys with the most extravagant pretensions, and they immediately flew to arms. At that moment the Magyar insurgents were achieving grand triumphs over the Austrian arms. Their songs of victory resounding all along the Bosnian frontier set the young men of that province on fire to fight for independence. It was before that frontier (in Serbian *kraina*) that the first insurrectionary flag was raised in Bosnia in 1849. The grievances alleged were the same as always: the cruelty of the Turkish Pachas, the extortions of the agents of the exchequer, and the avarice of the old Vizier, who heaped together in his cellars at Travnik the gold and the spoils of the country. But, by a singular anomaly, instead of making common cause with the Magyar insurgents, they declared themselves friends to the Yelatchitch, and consequently to the Austrian cause, by demanding their incorporation with some great Slave state, no matter what, provided they did not remain subject to the Turks. The fact is, these insurgents acted unconsciously as the tools of an Austro-Russian intrigue.

This was in July, 1849. The Austrians, beaten at all points, and driven disgracefully out of Hungary, had called in the Russians. The army of Paskievitch itself was in danger of being destroyed. Yelatchitch and his Croats had suffered frightful routs. Knitchanin alone, with some thousands of Serb volunteers, still held the Turkish frontier securely against the Magyars. All the Ottoman youth were eager to join the glorious General Bem, in order to wash out the affronts of 1829, in Muscovite blood. The Sultan himself made no secret either of his admiration or his sympathies for the Hungaro-Polish heroes. In this state of affairs the Ban Yelatchitch, who had for a long time been in correspondence on behalf of Austria with the leaders of the malcontents in Bosnia and Turkish Croatia, redoubled his intrigues among the Spahis beyond the Save, and by dint of fine promises, impelled them to open revolt. To propagate civil war in Turkey was evidently the best means of hindering the Sultan and his Pachas from affording aid to the Polo-Hungarian insurrection. Furthermore, the men who were thus stirred up against the Porte, belonged to the same race, and spoke the same language, as those unhappy Serbs of Hungary who were so odiously, so cruelly treated by their Magyar lords. It was, therefore, a clever stroke to rouse the Slaves of the Balkan against their Turkish masters, in the name of the liberal and republican principle, while, at the same time, the Hungarian Slaves were set on against the democratised aristocracy of Hungary, in the name of the monarchical and conservative principle. The result was, that the Slave Spahis of Turkey, in rising against the Porte, could not declare in favour of the Magyars, for in that case they would have had against them their own Rayahs, who made common cause with the confederate Serbs of Hungary and Servia. They deemed it prudent, therefore, to affect a lively sympathy for the Austro-Slave cause, in order thereby to win over to their side seven or eight millions of their brethren in Turkey. Confidently expecting to see all the Rayahs hasten to their aid, they proclaimed the Slave Confederation; sent and solicited the alliance of the Montenegrins and the Prince of Servia, and went so far as to inscribe on their banners the name of Ban Yelatchitch, whom many of them wanted to beg from Austria to be their sovereign

It was under such auspices that the Bosnians made ready for war. Their preparations were such that in the nahia of Svornik alone the Turkish police discovered as many as eighteen pieces of cannon, newly cast, hidden in the forests. When they thought themselves sufficiently armed, they elected for their general in Turkish Croatia, Ali Kieditch, who called himself Yelatchitch's cousin, because he was Spahi of the village from which the ancestors of the Austrian hero had sprung. The first act of Ali Kieditch was to go and blockade the citadel of Bihatch, the centre of operations for the Albanian garrisons, which for centuries had been oppressing those Slave countries as conquered territories. Roused by that news, the old lion of Travnik, Tahir Pacha, hastened to raise the blockade of Bihatch ; but, being obliged to thread all the vast labyrinth of defiles in mountainous Bosnia, he found himself opposed by the whole armed population. Checked at every step of his march, he was at last constrained to fall back upon his capital, with the remains of his broken army.

The position of the rebels was magnificent ; they had succeeded in rallying to their side all the population, without distinction of religion. The six hundred thousand renegades of Bosnia were now completely united with their brethren, who had remained Christians. They had thousands of adherents in Macedonia and Bulgaria. From the Austrian frontier to the Black Sea every Slave heart was warm in their cause. Accordingly, at the request of Tahir himself, the Porte consented to treat with the leaders of this national movement, who were invited to send their plenipotentiaries to Travnik, where they were to form a sort of *Slave Congress*, composed of all the Slave representatives of Turkey, whether Mussulman or Christian. This was a counterpart of the movement at Prague and at Agram. But at Travnik, as at Prague, the deputies, when once assembled, could no longer agree in anything. The old rivalries between tribe and tribe, Mussulman and Christian, revived. From the moment the proceedings were opened, the purpose which the rebels had at heart, which was that of resistance to all reform, and the maintenance of the old privileges, manifested itself in a more and more unfavourable light.

The insurgents were wholly disappointed in their hopes of

the alliance of Servia on which they had most counted. That principality, the existence of which as a separate and free state dates from 1800, after the successful issue of its long struggle felt its hereditary hatred to the Turks transformed into sympathy. More harshly treated by Milosch than it had been by the harshest Pacha, it owed its relief from the yoke of that tyrant to the co-operation of the Porte, which had powerfully aided it in 1838 and 1839 in effecting its constitutional revolution. Since that time the cabinet of Belgrade had always acted in accordance with the Divan. Under its government of elders Servia seemed to cherish no other longing than for repose. The era of 1848 roused it from its slumbers, and it seemed disposed seriously to take in hand the cause of the oppressed Slaves. Thousands of its *yunaks* had already followed the heroic Knitchain towards the Theiss to succour the Serbs of Hungary. There seemed reason to believe that the principality was likewise disposed to furnish an auxiliary army to the cause of the Bosnian and Bulgarian Slaves. Belgrade, the *white* and free city, was become the luminous point towards which the sons of the Balkan turned their gaze. If Belgrade calls in the Russians, all Slave Turkey will follow its example. If Belgrade, on the other hand, ventures to declare itself the centre of a grand association of peoples, under the twofold patronage of Vienna and of Constantinople, then autocracy will find the ground sapped beneath it. This idea of federation seems to have been for twenty years that of Voutchitch and Petronievitch, the two most popular men in Servia. It is also in another point of view the idea of the reigning prince, Alexander Georgevitch. This prince, who is not appointed for seven years, like the hospodars of Valachia and Moldavia, but is elected for life, owes his high position solely to the predilection of the Servian people and the friendship of the Sultan. He knows that Russia has done all in her power to invalidate his election, that the Porte has recognized him, and that his whole future destiny depends on that of Turkey. For these reasons he will never be led into any course of proceeding capable of endangering the security of his suzerain.

The part taken by the Austro-Russian agents in the Bosnian and Bulgarian movement was too evident to be overlooked or regarded without distrust by Prince Alexander.

Besides, even at Belgrade Russia no longer dissembled her projects. Danilevski, the Tsar's consul, had roused the indignation of the whole nation by his perfidious intrigues to make it rise against the Sultan. So strong had this feeling become that the Emperor Nicholas had thought it necessary to recal his unlucky agent; and had sent in his stead M. Levshine, a man, no doubt, more adroit in his dissimulation. But Levshine, too, deceived by the apparent apathy of the Servians, very soon threw off the mask. At the close of the year 1849, having for a while won the good will of the warlike Voutchitch, he began to give magnificent dinners to the senators of the principality, at which toasts were drunk to *the Dictator of the World*, to *the New Servian Kingdom*, which will reunite all the Yugo-Slaves *under the eternal patronage of the house of Romanof*. The two brothers Simitch applauded these imprudent sallies; and Petronievitch, their colleague in the ministry, in consequence of his indecision of character, remained neutral. Elias Garashanine alone protested courageously in the name of the national party, and his influence sufficed to turn all the youth of the country against Levshine. No aspirant for public functions in Servia durst have frequented the saloons of the Russian consul. For by virtue of a law which has now been ten years in force, no one can be a public functionary in Servia without breaking off every tie whether of citizenship or protection with the agents of foreign powers. This law, directed both against Austria and Russia, hinders those two powers from inundating Servia, as they did in the times of the Obrenovitch, with functionaries educated by them, who were their own subjects, and who, once installed in office, became so many agents hostile to the national cause. That state of things exists no longer. The intrigues of the foreigner have lost their prestige in Servia. The proof of this is, that in the height of the agitation excited by Levshine, Hassan, the old Pacha of the citadel of Belgrade, having died in 1850, the Porte did not hesitate to commit to Prince Alexander the provisional command of the fortress and its garrison.

From all this it may be inferred that it was becoming difficult for the insurgent Slaves to obtain effective aid from Servia. In vain did the Mussulmans of Bosnia use every effort with their Christian brethren of Bulgaria and Mace-

donia to engage them in a struggle for independence against the Ottoman race. They were everywhere referred by way of answer to the example of Servia. As for the Montenegrins, they did still worse. Profiting by the absence of the Spahis from their own domains, they overran Herzegovina and the Bosnian frontiers with their plundering bands. The Ouskoks of the valley of Vassoïevitch advanced in the direction of Sarayevo. Wretched and ragged as they look, being armed with carbines three yards long which they never discharge in vain, these Slave sharpshooters are terrible enemies. Accordingly the Porte, seeing the rebels thus caught between the cross fires of its Nizam and of the Ouskoks, ordered the Vizier to stand on the defensive, and to dismiss the Slave diet convoked at Travnik. It was clear, in fact, that anarchy was likely to bring about, even more rapidly than arms, the re-establishment of the crescent in the insurgent provinces. But meanwhile the members of the Bosnian diet abruptly dismissed Tahir, went off and propagated their indignation and their desire of vengeance in all the nahias; and the spring of 1850 saw the war renewed with still more ardour than the preceding year. Old Tahir being no longer equal to the work on hand, the Divan recalled from Bucharest the vanquisher of the Albanians, the inflexible Omer Pacha, who hastening from Macedonia with a choice army, traversed Pristina and Kossovo, and leaving masses of insurgents behind him, plunged into the heart of Bosnia.

This was the moment for which the Russian spies were on the watch, and which they had themselves laboriously prepared. They had launched the Slave against the Turk, and then the Christian Slave against the Mussulman Slave; while at the same time the Asiatic Turk—the Turk *pur sang*—was struggling throughout Anatolia against the reformed and European Turk; the fire of civil war was, therefore, everywhere. To enable Russia to intervene with its army, which was then stationed round Bucharest and along the left bank of Danube, nothing more was requisite than a slight pretext, which the Bulgarian peasants were called upon to afford. The arrival of the heroic victims of Hungary, the presence of Kossuth and Dembinski at Vidin, had already strongly contributed to superexcite the minds of the Bulgarians. That people

still remembered well their unfortunate revolt of 1841, in which the gangs of Albanians let loose upon them had seemed to have sworn their extermination. Twenty thousand of those insurgents had then taken refuge with their goods and their flocks in Servia, whence they had never ceased to waft the fiery breath of vengeance over their country. Since that period the Bulgarians had lain under martial law such as it is in Turkey, and in their impatience of such a yoke they listened eagerly to the Russian missionaries, who every day announced in some new manner the inevitable emancipation of the East by the *orthodox emperor*.

Especially conspicuous among the Muscovite agents on the Lower Danube, was old Milosch Obrenovitch, who longed to see his son, the ex-prince Michael, placed by Russia, as he himself had been, on any terms, upon any petty throne, Bulgarian or Valachian, Slave or anti-Slave, it mattered not. The ducats of the old tyrant, scattered profusely along with Russian rubles, easily produced in the pachalik of Vidin a rising of peasants, the purport of which was to demand of the Sultan a Christian prince for their sovereign. The focus of the explosion was the convent of Rakovitsa, the venerated object of numerous pilgrimages, and the monks of which, instigated doubtless by the Holy Synod and by St. Petersburg, kindled by their sermons the fanaticism of the simple believers of the Balkan. The excitement became so great that in June, 1850, they resolved to rise, not so much, however, against the garrisons of the fortresses as against the subachis and the spahis, or Turkish landowners of their province. Without any other arms than their scythes and iron-bound staves they began to overrun the villages, in which they killed a certain number of Turkish landlords with their people; and by dint of extorting black mail from the rich they succeeded in procuring money, with which they hoped to buy powder and guns.

On the 8th of June the three Nahias of Vidin, Beligradchitch and Verkovats were on foot, and their men proceeded in dense masses to attack the fortress of Beligradchitch; but being repulsed on two successive days by cannon, they had to forego their insensate enterprise. They then retired into three entrenched camps, in which they awaited the enemy, who did not hesitate to follow them

thither. Uniting cunning with daring, the Turks of Vidin opened negotiations with the insurgents, who were four times more numerous than themselves, and under favour of a false armistice they stole into the camp of those unfortunate men, on whom they committed a frightful massacre. Two hundred and twelve Bulgarians perished on that occasion. It was still worse in the Polomska Nahia, which had also risen in insurrection, and where the Turks having in like manner surprised the camp of Vlasinovats on the banks of the Lom, strewed it with five hundred Bulgarian corpses.

Victors in every encounter the Mussulman Spahis began to visit on horseback the villages, more than two hundred in number, which had taken part in the insurrection. The devastation that ensued was worthy of the most barbarous times. Neither sex nor age was spared. All the young were carried off as slaves to the vulture nests of the Spahis of the Balkan. In vain did Rechid Pacha enjoin milder measures; neither he nor the Sultan could check those bloodthirsty tigers. There needed to that end the unexpected arrival of the redoubtable Omer Pacha at Nish. He fell among them like a thunderbolt, and all was silence. The Bulgarians ceased to flee, the Spahis to pursue; and what was more, the Russian army of Valachia halted at the moment it was about to cross the Danube. That terrible Omer, the queller of so many revolts, had, at Bucharest, had an opportunity for making his qualities felt by the Russian generals; and they were completely disconcerted by his sudden arrival at Nish when they thought he was hemmed in by the insurgent Serbs in the gorges of Bosnia, without the means of making his way through them. The Russian troops paused, awaiting fresh orders from St. Petersburg; orders came, and the whole scheme was quashed. Cleverly as the Russian plot had been laid, it was completely baffled by the rapidity of Omer Pacha's movements. Nominated *Rumili-Valessi* (governor-general of all European Turkey) the victor used his dictatorial power in Bulgaria with admirable moderation. In order to deprive Russia of all pretext for intervention, he proclaimed a general and unrestricted amnesty. Riza Pacha, sent as commissioner by the Porte to the defeated rebels, received their complaints and their demands. When interrogated, they did not attempt to conceal all the intrigues which

Russia had practised among them through the medium of old Milosch. As for their griefs, they propounded them with the same frankness. They declared themselves ready to die rather than continue to yield up their women and children to the lust of the Spahis, who would not suffer any of the reforms proclaimed at Stamboul to come into operation in their lands. The peasants' dues and taxes had increased tenfold since they had become payable in cash, because the subachis valued grain and other produce at the market prices in Constantinople, which are ten times higher than the prices in Bulgaria. The Bulgarians petitioned in consequence that they might be allowed to pay as at former times in kind; and that the taxes imposed on them should be proportioned to each man's estate and means, with fixed terms of payment announced beforehand. They asked for a national clergy that could speak their own language, instead of their Greek bishops and priests, who did not know a word of Bulgarian, and seemed to understand no other language than that of ducats. In order to guard the honour of their families and the virtue of their daughters, they desired that they might be authorized to wear a handjar and pistols in their girdle like the Turks. Lastly, in order to insure the enforcement of all the reforms decreed by the Sultan, they wished that the Divan should subject to strict control every one of the local authorities, against whom the peasant could not publicly prefer a complaint without danger to his life.

Riza Pacha and the Rumili-Valessi Omer having declared all these demands to be perfectly reasonable, the Bulgarians went back to their fields with the hope of receiving speedy satisfaction. This result had only cost Omer the trouble of appearing. But what instruments had he employed to secure to the Porte so complete a triumph, and so promptly to reduce the exasperated Bulgarians to obedience and quiet? It would be a great mistake to suppose that Turkey extricated herself by her own strength from the abyss which the Austro-Russian propaganda had opened for her through the simultaneous revolt of the Bosnians and Bulgarians. Backed by impracticable mountains, the two insurrections would probably have endured to this day but for the Slave allies of the Porte.

Those allies were of two classes : the native Serbs and the Polish refugees. It was manifestly the principality of Servia that played the leading part in the Bulgarian question. From the beginning of the movement masses of insurgents marched to the Servian frontier, calling for arms and cartridges in exchange for chinking ducats. But the frontier remained hermetically sealed against the passage of the least *poushka*. All the cries for aid uttered by the Bulgarians remained unanswered ; and they were very soon disheartened by the decisive refusal of Prince Alexander to co-operate in an absurd war, which would inevitably have led to a European conflagration. The Bulgarians then found themselves obliged to accept the mediation offered them by the cabinet of Belgrade, the effect of which was the immediate disarming of a great part of the combatants, who were granted a sure refuge in the principality. Thereupon Omer Pacha could with dignity offer advantageous conditions and a complete pardon to the vanquished.

But could the Rumili-Valessi have shown himself at once so confident and so generous, if he had not possessed, along with the support of Servia, the not less important support of the Magyar and the Polish engineer officers ? The Servian journals reckon at six hundred the number of those refugees who were enrolled as instructors in Omer's army. A nearly equal number were still at Shumla in the heart of Bulgaria. They were solicited in a thousand ways by the insurgents to put themselves at their head. Had they done so, the rebellion, led by experienced officers, might have been able to await in the Balkan the arrival of the negociators or of the Muscovite bayonets. The refugees of Shumla, in spite of their extreme destitution, had the good sense to refuse all co-operation in that disastrous enterprise, and the peasants, totally unprovided with officers, were in a fortnight compelled to disperse in all directions. The Polish refugees thus nobly repaid a noble hospitality.

It only remained to pacify the Bosnians. Omer returned to Bosnia as rapidly and as secretly as he had quitted it, and fell like a thunderbolt into the midst of its capital Sarayevo, whence the Beys, who were most compromised, fled in terror to the Save in various disguises. At that moment the old Vizier Tahir, who was still fighting, expired under fatigues

too great for his age. The strenuous Omer immediately took his place. Full of confidence in the strategic superiority of his Polish officers, he did not hesitate to attack the arrogant feudal aristocracy of Bosnia with all his forces. After some skirmishes the insurgents dispersed, and their officers, left without soldiers, had to seek refuge in Servia and Austria. Every part of the country, including even the long-revolted Kraina, submitted; and Kieditch, the conqueror of Bihatch, himself humbly repaired as a hostage to the camp of Omer Pacha.

Master of the whole of Bosnia, Omer convoked all its Agas, Musselims and Beys to Sarayevo, and there caused to be read in their presence the new imperial firmans, which put the Rayahs almost on a footing of equality with the Spahis, and subjected all the Bosnians, Mussulman and Christian alike, to conscription and military service beyond their own frontier, from which they had previously been exempt by virtue of their ancient privileges. The citadel of the Travnik ceased to be the seat of the authorities. The governor-general, the supreme tribunal, and the foreign consulates, were transferred to the great Sarayevo, which, despoiled of its republican franchises, no longer forms a State within the State, and now obeys the common law of the empire. That law has had for commentator Omer Pacha himself, who, being a Croat by birth and speaking the Slavo-Bosnian dialect perfectly, went about the country explaining to the assembled people all the advantages that would accrue to them from laws thenceforth equal for all. By way of immediate application of his own harangues, Omer levied from all the Christian and Mussulman families alike the military recruits and the taxes which no Spahi had paid before that day.

Backed against its lofty mountains and the Austrian military cordons, Bosnia had remained the most backward province of Turkey, the refuge of the most cruel fanaticism and the densest prejudices. There the Christians had still to celebrate their worship in caverns and forests, as in the times of the Pagan persecutions; and when they had bought with their gold from a Pacha the right of building a poor chapel, the Spahis often came there to dishonour their wives, and set the chapel on fire after having made it the scene of their

orgies. These abominations will not be repeated; an administration wholly new, wholly European, created by Omer Pacha, has begun its functions.

Such were the events which marked the end of the year 1850 and the beginning of 1851 in Turkey. Always master of himself, Omer used clemency as much as he could. The excesses of the Albanian bands were severely chastised by him; and he neglected nothing to sweep the vanquished countries clear of those hordes. Omer felt assured that Bosnia and its appendages, when once brought well under subjection, could, without difficulty, reinforce the Ottoman army by sixty thousand Slave mountaineers, admirable soldiers in a war of partizans. As for the most obstinately rebellious Beys, they were pursued without remission by the Nizam, and tracked like wild beasts to the hearts of the forests and to the snowy summits of the Balkan, whence they were conveyed in chains to Constantinople, and transported by sea to Egypt and the regency of Tripoli.

It may easily be conceived that such severity drove to despair the old feudal dynasties of Bosnia, who rather than accept the reform chose to quit the castles of their fathers, to seek a heroic death in Herzegovina. The Vizier of that country, old Ali Rizvan Begovitch, who was himself a foe to the new *régime*, opened all his fortresses to them, and prepared to shut himself up for life in his castle of Stolats. The year 1851 was on the point of witnessing a still more bloody and terrible tragedy than its predecessor; but fortunately the Christian Rayahs were all in favour of reform and its champion Omer; they themselves opened the gates of the citadels to the Nizam; and thereby rendered the continuation of the war impossible.

During this time Russia was playing her diplomatic game on the Bosphorus. The question of the Hungaro-Polish refugees served as pretext for threats urged with increasing force by M. de Titof, and for the enormous preparations for war which were made in all the ports of the Black Sea. In reality, the demand for the extradition of the refugees from Hungary was meant to throw dust in the eyes of Europe. Substantially, the action of Russia was entirely subordinated to the issue of the two insurrections in Bosnia and Bulgaria, which had been stirred up by that same power, though on

diametrically opposite principles: both were expected to be ended by Muscovite arbitration, and to furnish a parallel for the fable of the Oyster and the Litigants. The good sense of the Slave Christians baffled these machinations by declaring for the Sultan and his reforms. Thus the present cabinet of Stamboul has all the old Mussulmans against it, and for it are the Christians who are becoming more and more the principal support of the empire.

Regarded in their consequences, the events we have narrated have brought about considerable changes in the situation of the Slaves of Turkey. Bulgaria has not had reason to complain of its victors. Its communes, its schools and its churches have received large ameliorations. The Bulgarians are now admitted to bear testimony, and their oath before the tribunals is of the same weight as that of the Turks. The Porte has released them from all their labour-dues and others to the Spahis, who will henceforth have to pay the peasant for all the services he shall consent to render them. With regard to change of religion, the Porte enacts that every Bulgarian who desires to become a Mussulman must be put for three days into the hands of his bishop, who shall do his best to instruct him. At the end of the three days, if the candidate for circumcision persists, he may then repair to the mosque. Lastly, the Bulgarians will henceforth have even in Stamboul their national church, and their official defender in a diplomatist of their own race, Prince Bogoridis.

Servia owes to the insurrections of 1849–51 an incontestable increase of political solidity. Its military condition is become respectable; it has now cannon foundries, and schools of artillery and engineering. The ten thousand muskets of large bore sent by the Tsar to the principality, and received with general gladness at Belgrade towards the end of 1849, have only served to arm better the representatives of Danubian Slavedom. Another recompense of the friendship of the Servians for the Sultan has been the opening of a commercial route between this principality and the Adriatic, which will liberate the Slaves of Turkey from the commercial monoply of Austria, by affording them another maritime opening besides Fiume and Triest. Another enterprise, less easy, but to which England shows equal favour, is the construction of a railroad between Rushtschuk

and Varna to connect Upper Bulgaria, Valachia and Servia with each other and with the Black Sea; so that all the produce of the principalities may be delivered at very reduced prices at the European mart of the Bosphorus.

The last and greatest in the list of ameliorations brought about by the last events, is, the introduction of the Christian youth into the ranks of the Nizam. When Turkey saw her independence and her integrity threatened in 1850 by the Austro-Russian coalition, she felt it necessary to quadruple her military effective in presence of that pressing danger, and wisely had recourse to the Christians of her empire. Now the accomplishment of such an act marks an immense revolution in the ideas of the East. How great is the difference between this powerful means of resistance and those which Mahmoud was constrained to adopt against the Greek insurrection, and against the Russian invasion of 1828 and 1829.

Unfortunately these levies of Christians have, hitherto, always taken place with violence, after the manner of the Russian recruitings in Poland, and the incorporation of the vanquished Italians and Magyars in the Austrian armies. It is not thus that the *morale* of an army can be raised and secured against reverses. Moreover, we should deceive ourselves if we expected from this measure, in Turkey, the results of passive obedience which it offers—till the next change comes—in Russia and in Austria, thanks to an iron discipline. The East has not yet arrived at that point; the Orientals will not submit to such constraint as our civilized men of Europe. Among them, if the conscription is not to people the forests and mountains with refractory fugitives, and to produce violent insurrections as it has done in Bosnia, it must be effected in the name of a domestic interest and of the glory of the race. In the first century of the empire of Othman, when it dismayed Europe by the splendour of its victories, the army and the administration were filled with Christians, but nationally organized. The mixture of men of all races in the Turkish regiments of these days will have the inconvenience of inducing continual brawls between comrades: each people ought to have in the camp, as in the country, its colours, its flag, and non-commissioned officers to command it in its own language. Thus organized by nationalities, the

different bodies of troops would become animated by so much the more lively a sense of military honour.

The secret, then, for creating an imposing army in Turkey would be to make each people interested in it on its own account; and, above all, to organize among the warlike tribes of the mountains, a *landwehr*, like the Prussian. Nowhere has the old principle, that every citizen is his country's soldier, survived in more force than in the East. If the young men of each province and commune were organized as national guards, *mobilisable* at need, they would, in case of invasion, furnish the governors of the Ottoman citadels with expeditionary corps, admirably adapted for harassing the enemy, cutting off his supplies, and destroying him in detail. Left in their own provinces, in all time of peace, these civic forces should be called out, as in Prussia and Switzerland, at the first sound of war, and placed at the disposal of the central military authority. Such a recruiting system would, in any case, be better than that of the press-gangs that now go about the towns and villages, carrying off all the able-bodied young men they meet.

Let us even admit, for argument's sake, that the present method of proceeding may create a solid military power, what then? As the Slaves constitute the majority of the inhabitants of European Turkey, they will, also, form the majority in the army. Once trained and disciplined, they will desire to enforce their rights. The question of nationality will then be practically revived in its fullest extent; and the empire will be destroyed, or reorganized, on the basis of federalism. Federalism has undoubtedly every chance of success in its favour. Since 1848 the parts played by Turkey and Russia respectively, have been completely reversed. The Turk has ceased to be the oppressor, the Russian to be the protector of the Christians in the East. The Sultan is become the sole support of the Serbs as of the Roumani against the Muscovite aggressions. No Moldo-Valachian would now be mad enough to go to St. Petersburg and complain of the Porte. All the true patriots of the three principalities agree in their endeavours to make their respective countries resume their ancient attachment to the Cabinet of the Bosphorus by the bonds of a common destiny. The Bulgarians feel, too, that their nationality has

no more dangerous enemies than those very instigators of revolt, who come to them from St. Petersburg with their pockets full of lying proclamations.

The aspirations of all these peoples towards a political existence will not die out. In attempting to trample them down, Turkey would prepare her own inevitable ruin ; in satisfying them she would for ages secure to herself enthusiastic auxiliaries. The Russian propaganda would then be demolished for ever ; then Serbs and Bulgarians would joyfully cross the mediating river, so to speak, which parts without dissociating them from the Moldo-Valachians, in order to march with them to the defence of the common frontiers of the great Oriental federation. The principle of political equality between nations, as between individuals, will develop a new life in all the races of Turkey. Even should the emancipated Christians obtain the larger share of influence in the empire, in proportion with their activity and their numbers, Turkey would not the less be secured for ever from attacks from without ; she would defy the Muscovite, and have no longer any fear of being effaced from the map. By uniting with the Christian genius, the Mussulman genius may drive back Muscovite centralization to its Steppes; but only on condition that she opposes to it, from the Danube to Egypt, a federation of peoples, founded on principles directly contrary to those of Tsarism. Then would that classic region, the most beautiful in the world, and so long the most sterile, then would that privileged land, the cradle of philosophy, of Islamism and of the Gospel, at last behold those ancient rivals embrace each other under the shadow of a civilization truly hallowed, because it would be truly universal.

CHAPTER II.

THE MONTENEGRINS.

Montenegro, or Tsernogora,* has for nearly a century formed an independent state, which, though apparently very feeble, is, in reality, almost invincible, since it commands the sympathy of several millions of Serb Rayahs, to whom its territory is always open as an asylum. The long range of the Black Mountain, commanding Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and all the north of Albania, stretches out in front of Italy as the outer ramparts of the Serbian people. By it they communicate with Europe; round its glorious summits, rally all the Greco-Slave rebels. The heroic struggles of which it is constantly the scene, inspire a whole people, who, though conquered and dismembered, remain still untamed, and who now believe the hour of their deliverance to be at hand.

Comprehending the importance of securing the good will of the warlike Montenegrins, Napoleon caused them to be visited by Colonel Vialla de Sommière, who, having been governor of the province of Cattaro from 1807 to 1813, was supposed to be thoroughly familiar with those regions. The narrative of his journey, which he afterwards published, is the most complete work on the Montenegrins as yet extant in France. So imperfectly, however, had this French governor made himself acquainted with the Slaves, that he constantly mistook those of Montenegro for Hellenes, and their language for a dialect of Greek. His work, though not quite destitute of interest, abounds with errors. The boldness with which he affects to give precise statistical details can only mislead the reader. Thus he assigns to Monte-

* Montenegro is the Venetian translation of the native name, Tsernogora, which means Black Mountain. Wilkinson supposes the epithet to have been derived from the dark appearance of the trees and bushes with which the mountain was more thickly clothed in former times than at present: but a better explanation will be found in Chapter III. The position of Montenegro, according to Wilkinson, is between 42° 10′ and 42° 56′ N. latitude, and 18° 41′ and 20° 22′ E. longitude, including the Kûsha or Kutska, which is the most easterly district, but which has recently separated itself from Montenegro.

negro, which he can only have visited very partially, an extent of 418 square miles, and a population of 53,168 souls, whilst the inhabitants themselves have never known the real extent of their country. When questioned on the subject they state that it takes three days to traverse Montenegro, nearly in all directions. It is still more difficult to determine the exact amount of the population; for those warlike mountaineers give themselves little concern about the numbers of their women and non-combatants, and reckon their men only by the number of guns they can bring into action against the enemy.

In the seventeenth century, according to the Venetian reports, this small people consisted of from 20,000 to 30,000 souls at most. It numbered about 50,000 when it began its conflict with the French, then masters of Dalmatia. Twenty years later, it was said to have risen to 75,000; lastly, the *Grlitsa*, the official almanack of Tsetinie, declared, in 1835, that the country contained 100,000 inhabitants. Considering the accessions of territory made by Montenegro, we may, without exaggeration, set down 120,000 souls as the present minimum of this free population. We know more certainly the number of its warriors; the contingent of the four *nahias* (departments) is fixed at 9,000 firelocks, that is to say, 3,500 for Katounska, 2,000 for Rietchka, 1,000 for Lieshanska, and 2,500 for Tsernitsa Nahia. To these contingents we must add that of the *Berda*, a name given to the seven mountains adjacent to the Montenegrin territory. These mountains do not form a part of Tsernogora, but the tribes that inhabit them are confederated with the republic. The aggregate population of the seven *berda* is, perhaps, equal to that of the four *nahias* together. Hence, though the *Grlitsa* of 1835 reckoned only 15,000 fighting men, the *Dalmatian Gazette*, of Zara, in mentioning the forces of Tsernogora, in December, 1838, did not hesitate to set them down at 19,500. Too few, it will be said, to defend a country! But let a single bullet strike the rocks of the frontiers, and forth will come arms and fusils from all quarters: old men, children, women even, will rise against you; you will have as many fierce foes as there are souls in the mountain. Tsernogora is not a regularly constituted people; it is a camp of insurgents, who seek their subsistence in war, and their

enjoyments in vengeance. That country has remained to this day so isolated from all the conditions of civil society in the East, that right of citizenship is there granted indifferently to men of all religions, to the great scandal of the other Serbs. Roman Catholics are very numerous there, and Turks have even been admitted, and have formed a distinct tribe, who fight as brethren by the side of the Christians, whilst continuing to believe in the Koran, and to have their mosque.

The western neighbours of the Montenegrins, nevertheless, attribute to them the grossest superstitions. The Montenegrin, they say, thinks himself free to do what he pleases, provided he pays tithes to the monks, and shares the plunder of his *tchetas* (forays) with the monasteries. Among the Christians of the East, on the contrary, he passes for a freethinker. Absorbed in political life, wholly devoted to their projects of war and territorial conquest, the republicans of Tsernogora concern themselves little about heaven. Their convents are much poorer than those of the rest of Turkey; and whereas among the other Serbs a man, who should not take the communion at least once a year, would be pointed at as a giaour, among the Tsernogorki the number of those who never communicate, greatly exceeds that of the zealous Christians. The mountaineers are, nevertheless, far from despising the sacred mysteries; if they abstain from certain religious practices it is only in obedience to the Church, which forbids every mountaineer who is possessed by a feeling of hatred to approach the sacraments, and imposes the duty of public expiation as soon as vengeance has been wreaked. Thus a murderer is excluded from the communion for the space of twenty years. The Montenegrin comes at last to find that prescribed state of penitence convenient enough for a man of his adventurous way of life, and prefers it to the less free and easy life of the true followers of the Church. Most of these warriors have forgotten even the Lord's Prayer, and all belonging to Christianity, except the fasts and the sign of the cross; but in proportion as their religious ignorance increases, their knowledge of military and political life expands.

Every tribe, however, has one church, sometimes more than one; besides which there are four or five monasteries, the chief of which are those of Ostrog and Moratcha. In

all Tsernogora there are not above fifteen or twenty monks, aided by about two hundred popes; the monastery of Tsetinie is even occupied by a single priest. These ecclesiastics lead a very austere life, and are distinguished from the Greek caloyers only by their head dress, which is the red fez, surrounded by a silk handkerchief, in the form of a turban. The Vladika himself, the religious and political chief of the land, dresses like other monks; hence he is called in Turkey "the black caloyer."

Perhaps on no point of the globe does there exist such complete equality as in Tsernogora; but the principle of equality, as understood and practised by the Slaves, does not menace the rights and the existence of the family, as do the theories founded in France upon the same principle. Every Serb, whilst enjoying his own independence, continues to be devoted to the interest of all; scarcely ever does he separate from his relations. Families are consequently so numerous that one alone is often sufficient to form a village of several hundred houses, the inhabitants of which, all related and bearing the same name, are distinguished from each other only by their Christian names. At the head of every family is an elected chief, who directs it. This patriarchal life produces the closest community of interest and feeling among relations, and one of them cannot be wronged without the rest immediately take part with him. Hence hereditary vengeances and wars between families, exaggerated consequences of an eminently conservative principle. The mischief caused by these wars has happily not been without compensation; they have strengthened in the Montenegrin the sense of his personal dignity; they have taught him to regard every quarrel with his countrymen as a great calamity; in the heat of his passion he is heard exclaiming: *Ne ou krv, bog ti i sveti Iovan!* "In the name of God and St. John let us not come to blows!" A law passed by the Vladika Peter I. indicates the savage pride of these men. A Tsernogorki, it enacts, who kicks one of his countrymen, or strikes him with his tchibouk, may be killed by the insulted person as lawfully as a robber taken in the fact. If the insulted person restrains his wrath, the offender must pay him a fine of fifty ducats, and the like sum to the stareshns of the tribunal.

It is, perhaps, superfluous to say that there are no beggars in Tsernogora. In times of dearth, which are but too frequent, the indigent go boldly to the rich and ask for a loan, whether of food or of money, promising to repay it at a stated time; or they pawn their handsome weapons. The shops of Budva and Cattaro are full of arms that have been thus deposited and not reclaimed.

War against the Mussulmans is the almost daily task of these mountaineers; old men and children rush to it with enthusiasm, as to martyrdom. Cripples, even, have themselves carried to the redoubt; lying down behind a rock they load and fire upon the enemy. So murderous is this warfare, that it always ends by sweeping off the majority of those who take part in it. Death elsewhere than on the field of battle is regarded by these warriors as the worst of calamities; the relations of one who has died a natural death say that he has been killed by "God, the old slayer"—*od boga, starog krvnika.* The worst insult that can be addressed to a Montenegrin is conveyed in these simple words: "I know your people; all your ancestors died in their beds."

The monks themselves go armed, fight, and withstand the assaults of the Mussulmans in their monasteries. The popes, still more secularized than the monks, have rejected the long beards and the black cap, which they must wear in other Serb countries; they shave their chins and half their heads, like the fighting men, and are not distinguished from their flock by any peculiar costume. Present at all fights, they even take part in the feuds between families; but, as the Church forbids her ministers to shed blood, they prefer, like our feudal bishops of yore, to excite the combatants or to knock down the enemy with blunt instead of cutting weapons. In war every one buys and carries his own victuals and ammunition. The powder magazines, kept in reserve by the Vladika, are opened to the people only in case of urgent need. The Tsernogorki are accused of being prompted to arms only by the love of pillage. The poorer of them, no doubt, often make forays on Turkish ground, to procure cattle and money; but the wealthy engage in their expeditions from no other motive than that of acquiring glory in serving their country.

The manners of the women are strongly marked by the impress of the social state in which they live. Assiduous companions of warriors, they recognize their own likeness in the portraiture of the following ballad:

THE TSERNOGORKA.

"A HAIDOUK laments, and cries on the mountain, 'Poor Stanisha, woe to me that I have let you fall without ransom!'* Stanisha's wife hears these cries from the valley of Tsousa, and understands that her husband has fallen. Instantly she springs forward, gun in hand, the high-hearted Christian woman! and climbs the green paths down which were marching the murderers of her husband, led by Tchenghitch Aga. The moment she espied Tchenghitch Aga, she fired at him, and laid him dead. The other Turks, dismayed at the boldness of that heroic woman, ran away, and left her to cut off their leader's head, which she carried to her village. Soon afterwards, Fati, the widow of Tchenghitch, wrote a letter to the widow of Stanisha: 'Christian wife, you have plucked out my two eyes, in killing my Tchenghitch Aga; if, then, you are a true Tsernogorka, you will come alone to-morrow to the frontier, whither I will likewise come alone, that we may measure our strength, and see which of us two was the better wife.' The Christian takes off her woman's clothes, puts on the dress and the arms taken from Tchenghitch, grasps his yatagan, his two pistols, and his splendid *djevardane* [fusil], mounts the Aga's fine courser, and sets off across the paths of the Tsousa, crying out before each rock, 'If there is a Tsernogorki brother hidden here, let him not kill me, mistaking me for a Turk, for I am a child of the Tsernogora.' But on arriving at the frontier, she sees that the disloyal *boula* [Mussulman woman] had brought her *djever* [kinsman] with her, who, mounted on a great black horse, charged furiously at the young Christian woman. She awaited him without fear, pierced his heart with a well-aimed ball, and then cut off his head: then, overtaking the boula in her flight, she brought her bound to Tsousa, where she made her her servant, compelling her to sing Stanisha's orphans to sleep in their cradle. And after having thus had her in her service for fifteen years, she set the boula free, and sent her back to her own people."

The astonishing energy of the women of Tsernogora is for their warlike husbands an additional reason for heaping toil upon them. They are seen stepping out nimbly, under enormous burthens, along the verge of precipices; often as if

* That is to say, without revenge.

they did not feel the weight they carry, they hold their spindles in their hands, and chat together as they spin. If they meet a *glavar* (head of a family), or some distinguished person of their own sex, they never fail to kiss that person's hand, bowing very low at the same time. In spite of this state of humiliation, woman is not morally the sport of man in Tsernogora, as she too often is in civilized countries. There she is really inviolable; hence she trusts herself fearlessly even to a stranger, fully assured that she is safe from any dishonourable treatment at his hands; in fact, if he dared to attempt her chastity, the death of the one or the other would certainly ensue. A Tsernogorka has no idea of love without marriage, or the murder of the seducer. The popular ballads testify that formerly the warriors of that country deemed it an honourable act to baptise and marry Turkish women; it is not so now; a Tsernogorki regards a Mussulman woman, even though converted, as too degraded to become his consort. Nevertheless, in the midst of the greatest mutual exasperation, the women of the two peoples are treated as neutrals, and may pass without danger from the one country to the other.

Next to woman the being most sacred in the eyes of the Montenegrins is the traveller. Throughout the whole country hospitality is exercised with exquisite cordiality. If you ask for a glass of water as you ride by a peasant's dwelling, he will supply your want with alacrity, and will bring you wine if he has any. It is true that at the cabin doors the big and terrible mastiffs that frightened Colonel Vialla thirty years ago, have lost nothing of their savage vigilance; but enter, and the inmates will contend for the honour of serving you; the cushions, if your host possesses any, will be stretched for you on the wooden bench which surrounds the hearth; the master of the cabin, seated before you on a stone, will himself present to you the coffee, the hard eggs, the *castradina* (smoked meat prepared in the Servian manner), and the native wine, the whole on a wooden tray, which serves for a table. If, after the first *zdravitsa* (toasts) he holds out his hand to you, it is a sign that he vows to defend you thenceforth to the death, though it were against an army. At your departure the only recompense he desires is a discharge of your fire-arm, as a fare-

well salute, and a public indication that you are satisfied with him.

The Tsernogorki, like all Orientals, have retained the ancient and barbarous usage of planting the heads of their enemies on pikes. As the Pachas reward every soldier who brings them a head, so likewise the Serbian *voïevodes* (generals) bestow decorations in that case on their *yunaks* (braves). The old popular songs often mention the *tchelenkas* or silvered plumes on a warrior's cap, the number of which indicates that of the enemies he had decapitated.

[Thus far we have followed Cyprien Robert. The following account of Montenegrin warfare is given by M. Bronievski, an officer in the Russian fleet, under Admiral Siniavin, who took part, both by sea and land, in the campaign against the French in 1806-7.]

Inhabiting mountains which present, at every step, passes, where a handful of brave men may arrest the progress of an army, they are not afraid of a surprise, particularly as they have on their frontier a constant guard;* and the whole of their force may be collected within twenty-four hours, on the threatened point. When the enemy is in great force the Montenegrins burn their villages, devastate their fields, and after having enticed him into the mountains, they surround him and attack him in the most desperate manner. When the country is in danger, the Montenegrins forget all personal feelings of private advantage and enmity; they obey the orders of their chief, and like gallant republicans, they consider it a happiness and a grace of God, to die in battle. It is in such a case that they appear as real warriors; but, beyond the limits of their country, they are savage barbarians, who destroy everything with fire and sword.

Their ideas about war are entirely different from those adopted by civilized nations. They cut off the heads of

* "So scrupulously do they resent any approach towards their frontier, that no Turk can come within musket shot without being fired at; though his innocent intentions might not aspire to anything beyond a visit to his own fields. The consequence is, that those near the frontier are tilled by Christians, who are not amenable to powder and ball; and the appearance of a Turk is considered by the Montenegrins a sure indication of intended hostility."—*Wilkinson's Dalmatia and Montenegro.*

those enemies whom they take with arms in their hands, and spare only those who surrender before the battle. The property they take from the enemy is considered by them as their own, and as a reward of courage. They literally defend themselves to the last extremity; a Montenegrin never craves for mercy, and whenever one of them is severely wounded, and it is impossible to save him from the enemy, his own comrades cut off his head. When at the attack of Clobuk a little detachment of our troops was obliged to retreat, an officer of stout make, and no longer young, fell on the ground from exhaustion. A Montenegrin perceiving it, ran immediately to him, and having drawn his yatagan, said: '*You are very brave, and must wish that I should cut off your head: say a prayer and make the sign of the cross.*' The officer, horrified at the proposition, made an effort to rise, and rejoined his comrades, with the help of the friendly Montenegrin. They consider all those taken by the enemy as killed. They carry out of the battle their wounded comrades on their shoulders; and, be it said to their honour, they acted in the same manner by our officers and soldiers.

Like the Circassians, they are constantly making forays in small parties for the plunder of cattle, and consider such expeditions as feats of chivalry. . . . Arms, a small loaf of bread, a cheese, some garlic, a little brandy, an old garment, and two pairs of sandals made of raw hide, form all the equipment of the Montenegrins. On their march they do not seek any shelter from rain or cold. In rainy weather, the Montenegrin wraps his head with the *strooka*, lies down on the ground and sleeps very comfortably. Three or four hours of repose are quite sufficient for his rest, and the remainder of his time is occupied in constant exertion.

It is impossible to retain them in reserve; and it seems they cannot calmly bear the view of the enemy. When they have expended all their cartouches, they humbly request every officer they meet with to give them some; and as soon as they receive them they run headlong into the further line. . . . When there is no enemy in sight they sing and dance, and go on pillaging, in which we must give them the credit of being perfect masters; although they are not acquainted with the high-sounding names of *contribution*,

requisition, forced loans, &c. They call pillage simply pillage, and have no hesitation in confessing it.

Their usual mode of fighting is as follows: If they are in great force, they conceal themselves in ravines, and send out only a small number of shooters, who, by retreating, lead the enemy into the ambush; here, after having surrounded him, they attack him, usually preferring on such occasions swords to fire arms; because they rely on their personal strength and bravery, in which they generally have the advantage over their enemies. When their numbers are inferior, they choose some advantageous position on high rocks; where pronouncing every kind of abuse against their enemies, they challenge them to combat.* Their attacks are mostly made during the night, because their principal system is surprise.

However small their force may be, they always try to wear out the enemy by constantly harassing him. The best French *voltigeurs* on the advanced posts were always destroyed by them; and the enemy's generals found it more advantageous to remain under the cover of their cannon, of which the Montenegrins were not at all fond. However, they soon became accustomed to them, and supported by our rifles, they bravely mounted the batteries.

The tactics of the Montenegrins are confined to being skilful marksmen. A stone, a hole, a tree offer them a cover from the enemy. Firing usually from a prostrate position on the ground, they are not easily hit, whilst their rapid and sure shots carry destruction into the closed ranks of a regular army. They have besides a very practised eye for judging of distance; they thoroughly understand how to take advantage of the ground, and as they usually fight retreating, the French, who took it for a sign of fear, constantly fell into their ambushes; as for themselves, they are so wary, that the most skilful manœuvres cannot deceive them.

Their extraordinary boldness frequently triumphed over the skill of the experienced bands of the French. Attacking the columns of the enemy in front and flank, and acting separately, without any other system than the inspirations of

* "Many a reproachful speech, made at the siege of Troy, might be adopted by a modern poet in describing the contests of the Montenegrins and the Turks."—*Sir Gardiner Wilkinson.*

personal courage, they were not afraid of the terrible battalion fire of the French infantry.

The Montenegrins cannot withstand regular troops beyond their mountains, because destroying everything with fire and sword, they cannot long keep the field; and the advantage of their courage in assisting our troops, and the fruits of the victory, were lost by their want of order. During the siege of Ragusa it was never possible to know how many of them were actually under arms, because they were constantly going to their homes with spoil, whilst others joined the army in their place, and after a few days of indefatigable exertion, returned to the mountains to carry away some insignificant trifle.

It is impossible to undertake any distant expedition, and consequently, to accomplish any thing of importance with them. In one respect they have a great advantage over regular troops by their great skill in mountain warfare, although they are completely ignorant of the military art. In the first place, they are very lightly dressed, are exceedingly good marksmen, and reload with much more rapidity than regular soldiers. . . . The Montenegrins dispersed and deliberately firing from a lying position on the closed ranks of the enemy, are not afraid to attack columns composed of 1000 men with numbers not exceeding 100 or 150. In a pitched battle their movements can be ascertained only by the direction of their standards. They have certain signal cries which are uttered when they are to join in a compact body, for attacking the weaker points of the enemy. As soon as such a signal is given, they rush furiously onwards, break into the squares, and, at all events, create a great deal of disorder in the enemy's ranks. It was a terrible spectacle to see the Montenegrins rushing forwards, with heads of slaughtered enemies suspended from their necks and shoulders, and uttering savage yells. They can be employed by a regular army with great advantage, for fighting on the advanced posts, for seizing the enemy's convoys, destroying his magazines, &c.

The Russian commander-in-chief had much difficulty in persuading them not to cut off the heads of their prisoners. He finally succeeded, not only in this (chiefly by paying them a ducat for every prisoner), but what was more difficult, in persuading them, with the assistance of the Vladika, to

embark for an expedition on board ship; a thing which they had never done before. . . . Notwithstanding they were treated with the greatest kindness, they proved very troublesome guests. . . . When at last the ship approached the entrance of Bocca di Cattaro, and they caught sight of their own black mountains, they uttered joyous acclamations and began to sing and dance. On taking leave, they affectionately embraced the Captain and the officers, and invited those to whom they had taken a liking to pay them a visit. But when the sailors told them they could not leave the ship without the permission of their superiors, they were much astonished, and said, "If you like to do a thing, what right has another to forbid you?"

[We resume our extracts from Cyprien Robert.]

It is not impossible that Tsernogora may one day become one of the principal political centres of the great peninsula, if it succeeds in obtaining a seaport, and in reuniting the Albanians to the Serb race. It is, therefore, desirable to know the country inhabited by a people animated by an ambition so active. Two very different routes lead the traveller into the Black Mountain. If you come from Cattaro and the west, you will see only a desert traversed by precipices down which roll the stones you displace at every step, with here and there a meagre goat browsing on the scanty herbage suspended from the grey rocks. If, on the contrary, you come from Novi Bazar and the east, you enter Tsernogora through the most charming landscapes, by valleys fertilized by a a thousand streams, and flanked by superb forests. But by whatever point you enter the mountain, you may travel there day and night with less danger than in certain civilized countries of Europe, provided always you are accompanied by a native. Though he be guarded only by a woman, the stranger may travel without fear; he will even be the better defended against the attacks of the Haiduks, in consequence of the respect in which the weaker sex is held by those eastern representatives of chivalry.* Hence it often happens

* The analogy is not exact; for chivalry regarded woman as a superior being—in theory at least—which is quite the reverse of both theory and practice in Montenegro. The almost servile condition of women in Montenegro, and the neutrality accorded to them by belligerents, find their precise parallel in Corsica, another land of interminable private war. It

that foreigners are handed over by their guides to the care of some female relation, who is to escort them to a point agreed on. Stieghitz, a German, who published an account of his visit to Montenegro,* was thus escorted, some years ago, by a young female cousin of the Vladika.

The Black Mountain is, like every Oriental land, so identified with its inhabitants, that it has no other local names than those of the *plemas*, or tribes that occupy its different plateaux. Formerly comprised in the duchy and province of Zeta or Zenta (an apellation now limited to the valley of the Moratcha, from Jabliak to Podgoritsa); the country now called Tsernagora, is situated between Albania, Bosnia, Hertzegovina, and Austrian Dalmatia. The Moratcha and the Paskola, which fall into the lake of Skadar (Scutari), form its eastern frontier. To the west its natural limit would be the coast of the Adriatic, from Antivari to Ragusa; but the Congress of Vienna determined otherwise, and the Tsernogorki, who from many points of their frontier could almost throw stones into the sea, have not a single maritime opening.

The natural ramparts of the country are, to the west the range of the Sella Gora, five or six thousand feet high, to the east and north the Ostrog, to the south the Sutorman. These ranges send out spurs, which intersect the interior of the country in all directions. The national ballads relate that, when God was engaged in sowing the surface of the earth with mountains, he let fall his bag of rocks on Tsernogora, and the granite blocks rolled from it in all directions, and covered the country. There is but a single plain in Montenegro, that of Tsetinie, which is but four leagues long by half a league wide. It is girt by a belt of rocks, and was not long ago the bed of a lake. The only great river of the country is the Tsernoyevitch, which descending from the Maratovitch mountains above Dobro, flows by Tsetinie into the lake of Skadar. At the point where the Tsernoyevitch ceases to be navigable for boats ascending the stream, a market is held every week in a narrow bazaar, which is much frequented, even by the Serbs of Austria and Turkey. The

is probable that in both countries the inviolability of women, like that of heralds elsewhere, obtained universal acceptance for sake of its obvious convenience, and for that alone.

* *Eim Besuch auf Montenegro*, Stuttgard, 1841.

Tsernoyevitch, in its very unequal course, sometimes spreads over fine *livadas* (meadows), sometimes is lost beneath reeds, or is compressed between overhanging rocks, that seem as if they would bar its passage. On its banks was once the strong fortress of Rieka, which withstood the whole force of an Ottoman army; but scarcely a vestige of it now remains. The ruins of Obod, situated on a mountain near the mouth of the river, have been better preserved. In the rock at the foot of that dilapidated fortress, there is a vast mysterious cavern, where tradition says that the heroic Ivo, the father of the Tsernagorki, sleeps on the bosoms of the *Vilas*,* who watch over him, and will wake him one day, when God shall have resolved to restore Cattaro and the *Blue Sea* to his dear Montenegrins. Then the immortal hero will once more march at the head of his people, to drive out the Schwabi (the *dumb* Germans) from the coasts usurped from the Slaves.

Besides the Tsernoyevitcha Rieka, there is in Tsernogora another river, the Tsernitsa, which is ascended by boats as far as the village of Vihra, where there is a very ancient bazaar. It was here that the first insurrection of the Rayahs of the mountain broke out against the Turks, who came to collect the tithe of maize, and alleged that the bushel measures were too small. The incensed Rayahs broke the bushels on the heads of the Turks, crying out: "This is the way the Tsernogorki will henceforth measure their tithes." The temperature of these villages is so mild that the ancient Slaves called the whole region *Jupa*, the land without snow, or the land of the sun, and its inhabitants were styled Jupans, lords of the south. But a warm climate is often fatal; several districts lack springs, and the women of certain villages are forced to walk a whole day in summer to procure water for their households. In Montenegro, as in Arabia, tribes are known to fight for the possesion of a spring. In many parts the herdsmen are obliged to lead their flocks to the lofty summits, where the snow remains in the hollows of the rocks. They melt a portion of it every day to water their cattle. Whilst the herdsman is thus kindling fire on the glaciers, the olive, the fig, and the pomegranate, are growing some leagues below him in the valleys that know no winter.

* Christian nymphs, protectresses of the Servian people.

Montenegro contains neither towns nor fortresses, hardly even villages; for what are there so called are but the sites, often very broken, occupied by a brotherhood (*bratstvo*) that is to say, the aggregate of several households, forming a community, all the members of which look upon each other as kinsmen. The Montenegrins generally build with stone, contrary to the practice of the Danubian serbs, whose huts are of logs or planks. Far from scattering their dwellings over a wide space like the other Serbians, the Montenegrins group them as much as possible on steep rocks and leave only space enough for a narrow path between the houses, which are almost all furnished with loopholes for defence. In the *koulas*, towers one story high, the basement serves to shelter cattle. The Black Mountain abounds in goats and sheep; but oxen are scarce and horses still more so. Certain valleys yield a wine which would be excellent but for the acrid flavour it acquires in the skins in which it is kept. Trunks of trees hollowed out by the natives serve as hives for countless swarms of bees that produce excellent honey. The chief food of the mountainers consists of vegetables, milk, maize, and barley-meal, and potatoes, the cultivation of which, now general, was one of the innovations of the Vladika, Peter I. The country possesses no means of communication that deserves the name of a road. Napoleon, when master of Dalmatia, proposed to the Tsernogorki, through Marshal Marmont, to construct a great road for them at his own cost, from Cattaro to Nikshitsha; but they constantly refused the imperial offers, and not without good reasons.

Tsernogora proper is divided into four *nahias* or departments, named Tsernitsa or Tsermnitsa, Lieshanska, Rietchka, and Katounska Nahia. The latter department, which extends from Mount Lovtchen, near Cattaro, to Nikshitja, constitutes by itself nearly the half of Tsernogora. Formerly uninhabited, it derives its name from the Albanian word *katoun* (a shepherd's summer tent.) It now comprises nine *plemes* or tribes, occupying as many districts. The Germans called these districts *counties*, and gave the name of *counts* to the *knezes* or chiefs for the most part hereditary, who preside over the councils of the tribes. The nine plemes of Katounska Nahia are the Niegoushi, the Tsetini, the Bielitses, the Tchelitch, the Komani, the Pleshiotses, the Tsousi, the Ozrinitch,

and the Zagartchans. As these tribes inhabit the poorest and worst districts of Tsernogora, they are much disposed to pillage, and the most terrible brigands of Turkey issue from their territories to this day. In this department stands the fortress of Tsetinie, which commands a large plain, and serves as a forum for this people of herdsmen and soldiers; whilst the national diets are held on the plain, the senate sits on the mountain near the person of the Vladika. Not far from Tsetinie is Niegoushi (*Gnegost*), the only village in the whole country which has the appearance of a European city, and in which reside the most illustrious families of the Republic, the Petrovitch, brothers, uncles, and cousins of the Vladika, the Bogdanovitch, the Yaktchitch, the Prorokovitch, whose present head, the ferocious Lazo, nephew of a pope of the same name, shot by the French in 1809, is dreaded far and near by the Turks. Niegoushi is the Moscow of this Russia in miniature: the humble abode of the fathers of the dynasty is preserved there with reverence, like the house of the first Romanofs on the banks of the Moskva. The house of the Petrovitch is but one story high, and differs in no respect from those of the other inhabitants, except in being a little larger. Another *konak* was built of the same dimensions; this edifice, of which only the site remains, was inhabited a few years ago by the family of the civil governors, who for more than a century disputed possession of the temporal power with the Vladika. Despoiled of all its property, this family is not without a home.

The large villages of Tchevo, Tsousa, and Velestovo, renowned in national song, are seated in valleys which resist all cultivation. The little basin of Stanievitch that surrounds the Convent of St. Michael the Archangel, formerly the residence of the Vlaidka, and which yields excellent fruit and wine, is the only fertile part of the Katounska Nahia. The adjoining nahia of Tsernitsa, which stretches along Lake Skadar towards Budva, and Antivari, is on the contrary the richest portion of Montenegro. In some valleys cultivation has attained a degree of perfection which would be remarkable even in France; there are delightful gardens rising in terraces on the mountain side, and vineyards alternating with rich plantations of olives, figs, and pomegranates, which are kept in order by men armed to the teeth. The

Tsernista Nahia comprises seven tribes: the Podgores, Glouhides, Bertchels, Bolievitch, Limliani, Sotonitch, and Doupili. The nahia of Glubitine or Reitchka Nahia, the central part of Tsernogora, numbers five tribes: the Loubotins, Kozieri, Tseklins, Dobarski, and Gradjani. This Nahia has no other wealth than its river, the Tshernoyevitch, which abounds with trout and other fish, which are sent, dried and smoked, to Dalmatia and Italy. There is also caught there at certain periods a fish called *ouklieva* in Serbian, *scoranza* in Italian; it is a species of mullet, of the size of a sardine. At the approach of winter the ouklievas descend towards Lake Skadar in such compact masses that the surface of the water acquires from them a peculiar tint. They chiefly frequent parts of the Lake called *okos*, where there are circular eddies caused by springs which issue from the bottom. The water of the springs being warmer than that of the surface, the ouklievas are sometimes found there in such quantities that an oar plunged into one of these fish-banks stands upright. The Plemes on the borders of the lake are almost exclusive proprietors of the okos; and in autumn they have only to drop a net into them and draw it up forthwith full of ouklievas. The smallest are taken to the shallowest and most weedy parts of the lake, where they they are kept confined in such crowds that they can scarcely move: by this means they are made to fatten rapidly and increase their roes, which are converted into a *poutargue*, not much inferior to that of Prevesa. Liechanski or Lieskopolie Nahia, the fourth and last department, extends along the Moratcha, in front of Podgoritsa. It is much the smallest of the four, much more arid than Reitchka Nahia, and contains but three tribes, the Dragovina, Bouroni, and Gradats, who complete the twenty-four plemes composing the Tsernogorki people properly so called.

The Republic comprises, moreover, a great number of confederate districts, and is year by year augmenting the number of its allies. The large territory of Grahovo has been separated almost entirely from Turkey since 1840; and possibly, at no very distant day, not only Hertzegovina, but also the Pachalik of Skadar (Scutari) will be incorporated with Tsernogora.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY HISTORY OF MONTENEGRO.

The history of the Black Mountain forms a long epopœa, which began three centuries ago, and to which every new war adds a glorious page. This epopœa as yet subsists only in the rudimentary form of the *piesmas* or popular ballads of Tsernogora, which, like those of the ancient rhapsodists, are often composed by the heroes whom they celebrate. They are quite unconnected with each other, and are not poetry in the sense which we now attach to the word, but rather historical monuments. Collectively they are a faithful picture of a social state, of which no other country in Europe can convey an idea; and were it only for this reason, these rude songs are deserving of close study.

One day, perhaps, the Montenegrin *piesmas* may be transformed, under the hand of a great poet, into an Iliad and an Æneid together; for they celebrate both the triumphs of a race of heroes really equal by its exploits to the primitive races, and the efforts of its warriors to re-construct a destroyed city and an effaced empire. Like the companions of Æneas, who, flying from the flames of Troy, roamed about in search of a place to rebuild Ilium, the proscribed Serbs, who escaped from the carnage of Kossovo,* erected a city of refuge; only, more fortunate than the Trojans, they were not forced to lay its foundations on a foreign soil; they had not to quit their native land. The most surprising analogies exist, too, between this state of the citizens of Tsernogora and that of the first republicans of Rome. The one and the other city were composed of brigands, children of the she wolf, hard of heart, violent in their lusts; but these brigands or haïdouks, on the Cattaro as on the Tiber, rose to the condition of *ouskoks*. The *ouskok* presents one of the earliest social types recorded in history: he is the exile who has again found a country, the vanquished or condemned outcast who has cleared at a bound the trench of the camp of

* The great battle in which the Servian Empire was destroyed by Sultan Amurath.

asylum, and is again a freeman among his brethren.* The founders of Rome are the first well-defined specimens of the ouskok we meet with in antiquity. It was not for a trivial offence that Romulus punished his brother with death; for by leaping out of the nascent city across the trench, Remus signified that he had passed over to the enemy, to the established and self-styled legitimate order of society, by which the vanquished who have revolted against it have always been regarded as ouskoks and *blacks*. Thus does the modern history of Montenegro throw light on the old myth of the beginnings of Rome. As the slave or subject in Etruria fled to Rome, so the rayah, pursued by his tyrants, flees from rock to rock till he reaches Tsernogora, which is the surest asylum for all the outlaws of the Greco-Slave peninsula. All sorts of men, not excepting persecuted Turks, take refuge in Montenegro, as is proved by the Albanian lays. Young men even of our brilliant Europe have been known to retire to the Black mountain. Weary of the slavery imposed by a civilization which has wandered away from its mark, they go there to live as free men, obeying only a power of their own choice, without other laws than their own sense of justice. Hereditary vengeances between families also people Tsernogora with Dalmatians pursued by Austria. Though reputed brigands, most of them are very honest men, whose attachment to the habits of their fathers, prohibited by their new masters, leaves them no alternative but to emigrate, or live in their forests without a roof like beasts.

In this way was the Tsernogorki people formed in course of time. The only elements of its history are, as we have said, the *piesmas*. We will analyse these curious documents with the help of the general collection which the Vladika caused to be published in 1837, and of the *Grlista*, in which new piesmas have been inserted since that date.

The primitive epoch of Montenegrin history extends from 1400 to 1750. The piesmas and the traditions of that epoch, which have come down to us, show that in the fifteenth century Montenegro was still without a permanent population, and was only visited by the Serbian herdsmen during the

* Thence the word *ouskok*, which means literally "one who has leaped in."

fine season. The brave men who escaped from Kossovo, and Strashimir Ivo, surnamed *Tsernoï* (*Black*), that is to say, the outlaw, the rebel, came and peopled those desert rocks. The descendants of Ivo Tsernoï and his companions gave the name of Tsernogora to the mountain saved by that hero from the yoke of the conquerors. The river which traverses the free country of the "blacks," and which was previously called Obod, received in like manner the name of Tsernoïevitch.

With a view to strengthen still more the many family ties that already united the Latin Albanians with the Greco-Serbs, Ivo took for his second wife Maria, daughter of John Kastriote, the father of Scanderbeg. Thus allied to the highest families in Albania, he fought the Osmanlis in concert with his relations. Already he had completely routed the terrible Mahomet II. in his own mountain defiles in the famous battle of Keinovska (1450), in which his brother and colleague George fell in the moment of victory. In 1478, Mahomet again appeared at the foot of the mountain, burning to avenge his disgrace, and pressed forward in person to the siege of Skadar, which was defended by the Venetians under Antonio Loredano. Then Ivo Tsernoï rendered eminent services to Venice by the diversions he effected in Albania. The crescent, however, prevailed; the Turks having conquered Hertzegovina, pressed black Ivo more closely, and forced him to go to Venice in quest of succour. That republic had just concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with Sultan Bajazet; it could only offer empty consolations to the few, and *the Black* returned to his mountain, to bury himself there with the brave men who had put him at their head. Immediately after his arrival, he himself burned the citadel of Jabliak,* which he had with difficulty reconquered from the Turks, transported its monks and its relics to Tsetinie, and there, in a position fortified by nature, erected the church and the fortress which serve to this day as the capital of the country. Lastly, it was unanimously decreed in a general assembly of those unflinching warriors, that any man who should, without express orders, abandon

* The first letter of this name is pronounced like the French *J*, or like the *s* in derision. It might be represented in English by the combination *zh*

the post intrusted to his valour, should be despoiled of his arms, dressed in the garb of a girl, and handed over to the women, who should lead him about as a laughing-stock through the whole country, with spindles and a distaff by his side. The dread of such a humiliation rendered all treason impossible among those free men: Tsernogora became powerful, and the glory of the Montenegrin people spread widely. Ivo married his two daughters to celebrated princes, the one to the Valachian hospodar Radoul, the other to the despot George Brankovitch. The latter princess is still venerated as a saint by the Serbs, under the name of Maïka Andjelka (Mother Angelia).

The great Venice had courted the alliance of Ivo: from that moment the Tsernogorki never ceased to serve all northern Italy as a bulwark against the Turks, who, having become masters of Bosnia and Albania since the death of Scanderbeg, would certainly have put an end to the republic of St. Mark but for the Slave corsairs and haiduks that lined the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

The memory of Ivo the Black, better known by his Turkish name of Ivan Beg, survives as freshly in the mountain as if he had died but yesterday. Springs, ruins, caverns are called after his name *Ivan Begova*, and it is hoped that he will re-appear one day as a celestial liberator, a political Messiah. The love of the people reverted to that great man the more ardently as his successors proved unworthy of him. The chiefs of Tsernogora ended by accepting palaces and dignities at Venice, and were no longer capable of commanding an untamed race. Old Ivo himself had unconsciously hastened this prompt decay, by marrying his only son to a Latin bride,—an offence against Oriental customs which, as tradition relates, was punished in a terrible manner by heaven. The Golden Book of St. Mark, in which the name of the puissant Ivo was inscribed, in 1474, among the nobles of Venice, attested in its pages, some years afterwards, the marriage of Ivo's only son with a Venetian, whom it stated to belong to the family of Erizzo, whilst the Serbs say she was the daughter of the brave Mocenigo. The latter, after having, with the aid of Ivo the Black, delivered Skadar from its Turkish beseigers, had become doge, and would willingly have contracted a family alliance with his political

ally. The *piesmas* call the son of Ivo indifferently George, Maxime, or Stanisha. We will here cite some fragments of these historical lays:

The Tsernoyevitch Ivo writes a letter to the Doge of great Venice: "Hearken to me, Doge! as they say that thou hast in thy house the most beautiful of roses, so there is in my house the handsomest of pinks. Doge, let us unite the rose with the pink." The Venetian Doge replies in flattering terms; Ivo repairs to his court, taking with him three loads of gold, in order to woo the fair Latin in his son's name. When he had lavished all his gold, the Latins agreed with him that the wedding should take place at the next vintage. Ivo, who was wise, uttered foolish words at his departure: "Friend and Doge," said he, "thou shalt soon see me again, with six hundred choice companions; and if there is among them a single one who is handsomer than my son Stanisha, give me neither dower nor bride." The delighted Doge pressed his hand, and presented him with the apple of gold;* Ivo returned to his states.

He was approaching his castle of Jabliak, when from the *koula*, with its elegant balconies, and its glazed windows glittering in the sun, his faithful consort perceived him. Instantly she flies to meet him on the Livada, covers the hem of his mantle with kisses, presses his terrible weapons to her heart, carries them with her own hands into the castle, and has a silver chair placed for the hero. The winter passed off cheerfully; but in the spring, Stanisha was seized with the small pox, which pitted his face all over. When the old man assembled his six hundred *Svati* [boon companions], at the approach of autumn, it was easy for him, alas! to find among them a Yunak handsomer than his son. Then his forehead was gathered into wrinkles, and *the black moustaches that reached his shoulders grew limp.*

His wife, having learned the cause of his grief, upbraided him with the pride that had made him wish to ally himself with the superb Latins. Stung by her reproaches, Ivo burned with wrath; he would hear no more of the wedding, and sent the Svati away. Several years elapsed: suddenly came a ship with a message from the Doge: the letter fell on Ivo's knees. It said: "When thou enclosest a meadow with hedges, thou mowest it, or thou leavest it to another, that the snows of winter may not spoil its flourishing grass. When one asks for a fair one in marriage, and obtains her, one should come and fetch her, or write to her that she is free to form a new engagement."

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* Among the Slavo-Greek people, the apple is to this day the symbol of wedlock and beauty, as in the time of Helen and the shepherd Paris.

Jealous of keeping his word, Ivo determines at last to go to Venice; he assembles all his noble brethren in arms from Dulcigno and from Antivari, the Drekalovitch, the Koutchi, and the Bratonojitch, the falcons of Podgoritsa and Bielopavlitch, the Vassoyevitch, and all the young men as far as to the green Lim. He sees to it that the Yunaks come each in the costume peculiar to his tribe, and that all are dressed as sumptuously as possible. He is resolved, he says, that the Latins shall be in ecstasies when they behold the magnificence of the Serbs. They have many fine things, those noble Latins! they know how to work metals with skill, and to weave precious stuffs: but they lack what is more worthy of envy; they have not the lofty brow and the commanding look of the Tsernogorki.

Seeing the six hundred Svati assembled, Ivo relates to them the imprudent promise he had made to the Doge, and the punishment inflicted on him by Heaven, in the person of his son, smitten with small pox. "What say you, brothers?" said he, "shall we put one of you in place of Stanisha during the journey, and leave him, on our return, half the presents which will be made to him as the real bridegroom?" All the Svati approved of this stratagem, and the young Voievode of Dulcigno, Obrenovo Djuro, having been declared the handsomest in the assembly, was requested to accept the feigned part. Djuro refused for a long time, and was only prevailed on to consent by the most sumptuous gifts. Then the Svati embarked, crowned with flowers; and were saluted on their departure by the whole artillery of the Black Mountain, and by the two enormous cannons named *Kernio* and *Selenko*, which have not their match in the seven Frank kingdoms, nor among the Turks. The mere report of these pieces makes coursers bend the knee, and knocks down many a hero:

Arrived at Venice, the Tsernogorki stop at the ducal palace. The wedding festivities last a whole week, at the end of which Ivo exclaims: "Friend Doge, we must back to our mountains." The Doge then rising, asks his guests where is the bridegroom Stanisha; they all point to Djuro. The Doge then gives Djuro the kiss, and the golden apple of wedlock. The Doge's two sons then advance, bringing two damasked fusils of the value of a thousand ducats; they ask where is Stanisha, and all the Svati show them Djuro. The two Venetians embrace him as their brother-in-law, and deliver their presents to him. After them come the Doge's two sisters-in-law, bringing two shirts of the finest linen, all wrought with gold; they ask which is the bridegroom, and all the Svati point with their fingers to Djuro. Satisfied with their stratagem, Ivo and the Tsernogorki took their way back to their country."

The piesmas do not agree as to the last part of this story. Those of Montenegro relate that Stanisha, after having received his bride, demanded of the Albanian Voïevode his share of the presents as agreed upon, and that the haughty Djuro obstinately refused to fulfil the promise he had given. The ballads of the Danube, on the contrary, are directed against Stanisha in favour of the Albanian Slave, whom they call Milosh. These piesmas, sung by Serbs of less warlike temper, and consequently less hardened towards women, dwell more on the bride. They pourtray the Latin virgin entreating Stanisha to insist that Djuro shall give up all the presents.

"I cannot," she cries to Stanisha, weeping for vexation, I cannot surrender that marvellous tunic of gold, embroidered by my own hands, under which I dreamed of caressing my spouse, and which nearly cost me both my eyes, by working at it night and day for three years. Though a thousand broken shafts of lances should form thy bier, my Stanisha, thou must fight to recover it; or if thou dare not, I will turn my courser's bridle, and hurry him to the sea-shore. There I will pluck a leaf of aloes; I will scratch my face with its thorns, and drawing blood from my cheeks, I will write with that blood a letter which my falcon will carry swiftly to great Venice, whence my faithful Latins will hasten to avenge me." At these words of the daughter of Venice, Stanisha can no longer control himself; with his whip of three lashes he smites his black courser, which bounds like a tiger, and having come up with Djuro, the Tsernogorki pierces him with his javelin through the middle of the forehead. The handsome Voievode falls dead at the foot of the mountain.

"Petrified with horror, all the Svati stared at each other for a while; at last their blood began to boil, and they exchanged pledges—terrible pledges—which were not now those of friendship, but of fury and death. All day the chiefs of the tribes fought one against the other, until their ammunition was spent, and night had added its darkness to the bloody reek of the field of battle. The few survivors walk up to their knees in the blood of the dead. See with what difficulty an old man advances! That hero, so changed in appearance, is the Tsernoyevitch Ivo; in his irremediable woe, he invokes the Lord: "Send me a wind from the mountain, and disperse this horrible fog, that I may see which of my people has survived." Moved by his prayer, God sent a blast of wind that swept the air, and Ivo could see the whole plain covered afar with horses and riders cut to pieces. The old man went about from one heap of slain to another, looking for his son.

Yoan, one of Ivo's nephews, who lay dying, saw him pass, and collecting his strength, raised himself on his elbow, and cried out: "Hallo! uncle Ivo; how proudly thou passest, without asking thy nephew if the wounds he has received for thee are deep. What makes thee so disdainful?—is it the presents of the fair Latin?" Ivo turns back at these words, and bursting into tears, asks the Tsernogorki Yoan how his son Stanisha died. "He is alive," replied Yoane; "he is fleeing towards Jabliak on his swift steed, and the repudiated daughter of Venice is going back a virgin to her father."

All the piesmas relate that Stanisha, after killing his rival, turned Mussulman, to escape the vengeance of the Slaves of Albania. Obren Vouk, Bey of Dulcigno, the relation and avenger of the handsome voïevode, likewise embraced Islamism, in order to save the heritage of his fathers from the lands of the renegade. The two leaders having served the Sultan for seven years, received each of them a hereditary Pachalic; Obren Beg received that of Doukagine, near Ipek, where his descendants, the Mahmoud-Bougovitch, have always remained powerful; Stanisha was installed at Skadar, where his posterity did not cease to reign until 1833, when the rebel Mustapha, the last Pacha of that family, known under the name of Boushatli, was exiled by the Porte. The descendants of Stanisha received that surname from Boushati, a village where they took refuge, after being routed near Lieshkopolie, by the Christians of the mountain, whom they attempted to subdue. The inhabitants of Skadar and the Montenegrins are not yet reconciled, and to this day they take each others heads in memory of the handsome Djuro. The conduct of the Ivo and Stanisha was the first cause of all the catastrophes which have afflicted Tsernogora since that time. The history of the mountain turns wholly on a principle, essentially Oriental and antique, which is best expressed in the French word *solidarité*. According to that principle every race is naturally immortal and sovereign, and cannot fall save through the fault of renegades, who are faithless to their hereditary duties. Thus the chosen and privileged race of the Tsernogorki was split in two like Israel by apostacy: Montenegro remained the asylum of the heroes who were true to the laws of the family; Skadar, the Samaria of that people, received the son of another David, who immediately turned his arms

against his own race. It is true that, according to the Oriental belief that heroes are demi-gods, and cannot die, the warriors of Tsernogora will successfully resist the renegades of Albania; but the *solidarity* of blood weighs heavily upon them; their glorious immortality is for them but an incessant martyrdom; they have daily to expiate the faults of their adopted father, the Tsernoyevitch Ivo, and the fatal wedding of Stanisha with a Latin bride. According to the ideas of the sensuous East, a sovereign prince cannot choose a wife out of his own nation, for a dynasty ought to remain the purest blood, and as it were the essence of the nationality, which it is considered to embody in itself, as children are embodied in their father. To marry a foreigner is to break the laws of a patriarchal society; hence the modern Sultans, like the ancient Kings of Persia, the ancient Russian Tsars and the last Serb Krals, the ancestors of the Tsernoyevitch, marry only girls chosen in their own empire.

The dynasty of Ivo the Black did not long survive the apostacy of Stanisha. Its last representative, George, having again married a Venetian, that princess inspired the mountaineer chief with disgust for his barbarian country. George quitted Tsernogora to go and live quietly amidst the luxury and the enjoyments of Venice; and the Black Mountain, torn by intestine discords, and having only the anathemas of its Bishop or Vladika, named German, to oppose to the invaders, fell under the yoke of the Osmanlis. The renegade companions of Stanisha, returning to the mountain, took the fortress of Obod, and possessed themselves of the commercial outlets of their Christian brethren, who thus lived as rayahs until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Tsernogorki still speak with indignation of the time when their country paid the Porte a *haratch* (poll-tax), which was destined only to defray the cost of the Sultan's slippers. When they rose in 1604 against Ali Bey, Pacha of Skadar, whom they beat and drove away wounded from their defiles, their victory only resulted in procuring for them a less precarious existence, the right of remaining in arms to the number of 8,027 fighting men, to defend their 93 villages, and to be dependent directly on the Sultan, who recognised their military chief under the title of *spahi*, and their ecclesiastical chief under that of *vladika*. In this

condition they were found in 1606 by Mariano Bolizza, patrician of Cattaro, who was appointed to fix the frontiers between Turkey and the Signory of Venice.

At last the Venetians having gone to war with the Porte, stirred up the Tsernogorki against the common enemy. Vissarion, the seventh Vladika after German, flattered himself that he had secured for his mountain a faithful ally in the proud republic which then began its continental conquests over the Turks, and was powerfully seconded by the diversions effected by the Montenegrins. Thus in 1627 the latter beat the Turks, who were marching to the relief of Castel Novo, and forced that town to surrender to the Venetian besiegers. On their own territory meanwhile the mountaineers had no asylum left but their forests; Soliman, Pacha of Skadar, had forced their defiles, burned their villages, and destroyed Tsetinie. Though on his way back to Skadar he had been met at Podgoritsa, and completely routed by the Klementi and the Koutchi, then masters of the fort of Spouje, a great part of his army, which he had left in Tsernogora, kept its ground there in the defiles. These garrisons, backed by the Boushatli, continued to levy the haratch until the famous year 1703, in which begins the Hegyra of the Tsernogorki. The Vladika Danilo Petrovitch Niegoushi, who had just returned from Hungary, where he had been consecrated Metropolitan by the Serb patriarch, Arsenius III., determined his countrymen to dispatch, in one night, all the Mussulmans in their mountain who should refuse baptism; which was punctually done. The ballad which commemorates this event deserves to be known, were it only for the motives it alleges in excuse for the atrocious deed. It is entitled "*Sve Oslobod*" (entirely emancipated).

The rayahs of the Zenta have, by dint of presents, obtained from the Pacha of bloody Skadar, permission to build a church. When the little building was finished, Pope Yove appeared before the elders of the tribes assembled in *sobor*, and said to them: "Our church is built, but it is no better than a profane cavern until it shall have been blessed; let, us therefore, procure a safe conduct by money from the Pacha, in order that the Tsernogorki bishop may come and consecrate it." The Pacha delivers the safe conduct for the *black caloyer*, and the deputies of the Zenta hasten to convey it to the vladika of Tsetinie. Danilo Petrovitch, on reading the

document, shook his head and said :—"No promise is sacred among the Turks; but for the sake of our holy faith I will go, though it be my fate not to return." He has his best horse saddled and departs. The perfidious Mussulmans let him bless the church; then they seize him and march him with his hands tied behind him to Podgoritsa. At that news the whole Zenta, plain and mountain, rose up and went to the accursed Skadar to implore Omer Pacha, who fixed the bishop's ransom at 3,000 gold ducats. To complete that sum along with the tribes of the Zenta, the Tsernogortski had to sell all the sacred vessels of Tsetinie.

The Vladika was set free. The mountaineers could not contain their transports of joy at seeing the return of their dazzling sun; but Danilo, who had long mourned over the spiritual conquests of the Turks who were quartered in Tsernogora, and who foresaw the apostacy of his people, called on the assembled tribes to agree together on a day on which the Turks should be attacked and massacred all over the country. Most of the *glavars* were silent at that proposal; the five brothers Martinovitch offered, themselves alone, to execute the plot. The night before Christmas Day was chosen for the massacre which was to take place in memory of the victims of Kossovo.

The time fixed for the holy vigil arrives; the brothers Martinovitch light their consecrated tapers, pray earnestly to the newborn God, drink each a cup of wine to the glory of Christ, and seizing their blessed maces, set out in the dark. Wherever there were Turks the five executioners appeared; all who refused baptism were massacred without pity; those who embraced the cross were presented as brothers to the Vladika. The people assembled at Tsetinie hailed the dawn of Christmas with songs of gladness; for the first time since the battle of Kossovo they could exclaim, "Tsernogora is free!"

Thus were the tribes of the Katounska Nahia restored to independence. The deliverance of the neighbouring districts remained to be effected. Then began that daring warfare which has been prolonged to our own day, and in which it has often happened that Turkish prisoners were contemptuously exchanged for pigs. The commonwealth of Tsernogora gradually acquired a more solid consistency. The isolated existence of pastoral nomades was exchanged for the patriarchal life. The Serb pirates, whom Austria had so successfully employed against Venice during the seventeenth century, and who are immortalized under the name of Ouskoks, had at last been completely defeated by the doge Giovanni Bembo, and forced to seek refuge under the shelter

of the Black Mountain, at Nikshitcha, and at Piperi. Drobniak, likewise, had received in 1694 other Ouskoks, driven by the Turks out of Albania. All these refugees established themselves in villages or brotherhoods, and in plemes or tribes, under the presidence of a superior pleme, that of the Niegoushi. The latter were Serbs of Mount Niegosh in Hertsegovina, who having emigrated *en masse*, had continued to form one great family, governed by peculiar laws. The military patriarch who ruled it in concert with the bishop or vladika, commanded a tribe much more considerable than all the rest; accordingly, he soon exercised virtually supreme power in the little republic, and transmitted it to his descendants, in whose hands it has always remained, subject, in certain respects, to the laws of election. Thus the chief of the Niegoushi might, in concert with the elders of his tribe, choose the most deserving of his kinsmen to be his successor, without regard to the principle of primogeniture.

The Christmas eve of 1703 had liberated Montenegro; but the result of that tragic night remained unknown to Europe. It was Peter the Great who, having declared war in 1711 against the Sultan, revealed to the world the existence of this new people. Peter had endeavoured to raise all the Christians of the East against the Turks; the Tsernogorki alone responded to his appeal. An historical lay vigorously pourtrays the enthusiasm with which this popular insurrection was hailed in Montenegro. The lay opens with the Tsar's letter, which the Muscovite envoy, Milo Radovitch reads at Tsetinie, in a grand *sobor* of all the *glavars* of the mountain. The Russian Emperor, after recounting the victories he had gained over the King of Sweden, the battle of Pultava, the treason and death of Mazeppa, ends by saying:—

"The Turk is now attacking me with all his forces to revenge Charles XII. and to please the potentates of Europe; but I hope in Almighty God, and I trust in the Serb nation, especially in the stout arms of the Tsernogorki yunaks, who will certainly help me to deliver the Christian world, to raise up again the orthodox temples, and to exalt the name of the Slaves. Warriors of the Black Mountain, you are of the same blood as the Russians, of the same faith, the same language, and, besides, are you not, like the Russians, men without fear? It matters little, then, that you

speak the same language in order to fight side by side with them. Uprouse you, such as you are, heroes worthy of the ancient times, and remain that terrible people which is never at peace with the Turks."

At these words of the Slave Tsar, of the great Christian Emperor, all present brandish their sabres, and run to their fusils. There is but one cry among them: 'Let us march against the Turks; and the sooner, the gladder we shall be.' . . . In Bosnia and in Hertsegovina the Turks are defeated and blockaded in their fortresses. Mussulman towns and villages are burned in all directions; not a river, not a stream, but is tinged with infidel blood. But these *rejoicings* lasted but two months; they were changed for the Serbs into calamities, in consequence of the sudden peace which the Tsar Peter was forced to conclude with the Porte. The Tsernogorki were seized with huge despair. Nevertheless they still kept the field, showing themselves even then what they are to-day, drinking wine and fighting the Turk. And as long as one of them shall remain alive they will defend themselves against all foes whosoever they be, Turks or others. O! it is no shadow, the Tsernogorki freedom. No other than God could quell it, and who knows but God himself would tire of such an enterprise?"

Another piesma completes the narrative of the war in these words:

Victorious over the Muscovites, Stamboul was giving itself up to joy, when suddenly there appeared within its walls a Turkish warrior from the bloody *grad* of Onogoshto. With tears he recounted to the Imperial Divan the affronts inflicted on proud Bosnia by the blacks of Tsernogora, the burning of towns, the pillage of the open country, the desolation spread everywhere. Shocked at these pictures, the Sultan intrusted fifty thousand men to his ablest Seraskier, Akhmet Pacha, and ordered him to go and exterminate the rebels. The treaty concluded on the Pruth had put the Turkish Tsar at peace with all Europe; he had no enemies left but the Tsernogorki; how should they singly withstand the great empire?

Having arrived on the plain of Podgoritsa with his fifty thousand soldiers, the Imperial Seraskier wrote to the Vladika Danilo: "Send me a little haratch, and for hostages the three yunaks Popovitch of Tchevo, Merval of Velestovo, and the falcon Mandoushitch. If thou dost not, I will set fire to the whole country from the Moratcha to the salt lake [the Adriatic]; I will take thee alive, and will torture thy life out." When he read this letter the Vladika wept sorely; he wrote in haste to all the chiefs of the rugged mountain, and summoned them to Tsetinie. The Diet

being assembled, some said, "Let us give the haratch," others, "Let us give stones rather." "Comrades, give what you please," cried Mitchunovitch; "as for me I will not give up my brethren as hostages, unless they carry off my head with them." Finally the Diet resolved that they would die to the last man for the holy faith and for sweet liberty rather than surrender to the tyrants. All present then swore never to send the Turks any other tribute than the fire of their fusils.

During this time the Vladika was invoking the propitious *Vila* of Mount Koumo. "Genius of our mountains," cried the bishop, "teach me how we shall conquer so many foes!" And the good Vila revealed to him the means of destroying the army of the infidels. Three Tsernogorki were chosen to go to the frontier and reconnoitre the enemy; these were the Yurashkovitch, Yanko and Bogdane, and the great Raslaptchevitch, Vouko. The three brave men, shouldering their guns, went down the Valley of Tsetinie, rapidly traversed two nahias, and reached Kokota at sunset. There they halted to eat their bread; then swimming the Moratcha in the dark they entered the Pacha's camp. They walked all night long through the camp without coming to the end of it. At last Vouko inquired, "How many Turks are there on this frontier?" Those who could tell would not, and those who would could not. There were fully a hundred thousand, including the irregular levies of peasants from all the adjacent provinces as far as Bulgaria. Then said Vouko to his two companions, "Go back and tell our chiefs what you have seen, and give yourself no concern about me; I will remain here to serve you."

The Yurashkovitch returned to Tsetinie. "We found the enemy so numerous," said they to the Knezes, "that had we been all three turned into salt we should not have been enough to salt their soup. But," they added, in order to mislead the timid as to the greatness of the danger, "their army is only a pack of one-legged, one-handed cripples." Comforted by this report, the warriors of all the plains assembled at Tsetinie, piously heard mass, received their dear Vladika's benediction, and sprinkled with holy water, marched in three divisions under three Voievodes. The first division was to draw the Turks after them by pretending flight; the second was to pounce down upon them from the mountains; the third, which was the main body, was to await them in battle array in the valley. These three divisions remained posted for three days on the banks of the Vlahinia; at the setting of the third sun the Osmanlis appeared below Vrania. The pretended deserter Vouko guided their countless bands; suddenly he began to sing out: "Rest here, Turkish heroes; let your coursers loose along the Vlahinia; pitch your camp for the night, for you

will find no more fresh water from here to Tsetinie." The Turkish army halted, posted its sentinels, and went to sleep.

Suddenly down from the mountains comes a dense cloud of black warriors on that sleeping camp, and rains death upon it. Abandoning their sumptuous tents the beys fled through the paths, but found them beset by ambushed Tsernogorki. A horrible carnage was made of the fugitives; above the precipices of Mount Perjnik the fire of the Tsernogortski devours whatever the abyss does not swallow. For three whole days the superb army of the masters is pursued by rebels, by vile haiduks. O! it was a fine sight to see how the Serb sabres flashed, how they clove the heads of the foe, and how the very rocks flew in splinters when they came in their way! Thus it was that in July 1712, Tsernogora covered itself with glory and was filled with the richest booty. O brother Serbs, and all you who have free hearts in your bosoms, rejoice, for the ancient liberty will not perish so long as we possess our little Black Mountain."

The victors gave the name of *Tsarev Laz* (descent of the Emperor), to the place in which the Seraskier's army had been destroyed. In consequence of this battle many villages and whole districts were taken from the Turks, and the fortress of Rieka, which they were besieging, remained in the hands of the Montenegrins. Furious at these reverses, the *pure Tsar* (the Sultan) made strenuous preparations for another expedition; and two years afterwards a hundred thousand men marched against Tsernogora, under Douman Kiuprili, who deceitfully offered the mountaineers most honourable terms of peace. Deluded by his promises, they sent thirty-seven of their principal glavars into his camp. These were immediately seized and hung; and the mountain, thus deprived of its most intelligent chiefs by the perfidious Pacha, was forthwith stormed. The national *piesma* which narrates this event, concludes thus:

To avenge the Seraskier and the fifty thousand Turks destroyed in the Serb forests and defiles, and to heal the wounds of the Sultan's heart, Kiuprili did not leave a single altar or a single house standing in all Tsernogora. The yunaks, surprised without ammunition, were forced to yield when their powder failed. The youngest entrenched themselves on the summits of the mountains; the rest fled to Cattaro, in the Venetian territory, fully believing that the Doge, to whom their long wars had been so useful, would not give them up to the Turks. Vain hope! The Venetians let the Osmanlis invade their territory and there put the

victims to the sword. But what was the Doge's reward for becoming the friend of the Turks? He had all his eastern provinces taken from him by them. That was what Venice got for betraying the Serbs.

These last lines of the Montenegrin ballad characterise a sad period in the history of Venice, whose policy had become exclusively commercial, and who then learned what a nation gains by abandoning its allies. Free in his movements, through the possession of the Black Mountain, the Turk overcame, without resistance, all the Venetian provinces of the Greco-Slave peninsula, from Bosnia to the isthmus of Corinth. The Queen of the Adriatic perceived somewhat late that her prosperity depended on her intimate union with the maritime Serbs, and she again began to support the Montenegrins, who, having remained masters of the most inaccessible parts of their mountain, swooped down continually thence on the Turks in the valleys. In 1716 they even succeeded in driving out of the country the two Pachas of Hertsegovina and Bosnia, who had invaded it with their armies. It is true they dishonoured their victory by immolating seventy-seven prisoners to the memory of the thirty-seven chiefs treacherously executed by Kiuprili. In 1718 a Montenegrin force of five thousand five hundred men marched to the succour of the Venetians who were blockaded in Antivari and Dulcigno, and delivered them, by beating the Vizier of Albania. A letter of thanks from the Senate of Venice to the Vladika Danilo, commemorates this exploit of the black warriors. In 1727 again they gained a splendid victory over Tchenghitch Bekir, who escaped from them with difficulty to fall some years later by the hands of other Slaves, at the battle of Otchakof.

Nevertheless, all traces of Kiuprili's frightful ravages were not yet effaced. Several great tribes were still reduced almost to nothing. That of the Ozrinitch, according to the piesma, entitled *The Vengeance of Tchevo*, was reduced to forty men, when its voïevode, Nicholas Tomash, was beset in Tchevo by thousands of Turks, led by the Bey Loubovitch, and the governor of the fort of Klobuk. The valiant voïevode withstood the attacks of the Turks, and gave the Montenegrin army time to rescue him.

Whilst the fight was going on in the plain, and the fire of the fusils was filling the air from earth to sky, Tomash and his men on the rock of Tchevo

prayed to God to blow aside the clouds of smoke that they might discern which of the two armies was gaining the day. At last they saw their Tsernogorki brethren mounting up towards them, after having cut off the heads of more than a thousand Turks, and bringing with them no less a number of prisoners in chains. "Thanks be to thee O God!" cried Tomash, "that we so well avenge our fathers massacred by Kiuprili. And mayst thou grant in thy heaven the joys of a triumph without end to those who die in defence of Tsernogora!"

CHAPTER IV.

MONTENEGRO IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE existence of the Montenegrins, so long precarious, was beginning to acquire stability; the prolonged conflict between the Black Mountain and the Porte was attracting the attention of civilized Europe; blessings were showered on the heroic mountaineers by their Christian neighbours, and the second half of the eighteenth century was destined to be for them but a long series of victories. They had, however, to pass through a final period of suffering. Eight Pachas under the Vizier Mehemet Begovitch, kept the Black Mountain blockaded for seven years, beginning from 1739. But by bold sorties against the numerous entrenched camps of the Turks, the Montenegrins gradually weakened their enemies, and finally put them completely to the rout. In the savage intoxication of victory they burned alive seventy of their most illustrious prisoners in a stable. This deplorable exploit has not been made the theme of any ballad. A nobler recollection attaches itself to the day of the 25th of November, 1756, the events of which are recorded in an admirable piesma, with all the exactness of the most authentic military bulletin.*

The Vizier of Bosnia writes a letter to the black caloyer Vassili Petrovitch; he salutes him and says: "Black Monk, send me the haratch

* Second volume of the *Grlitsa*, 1836.

of the mountain with a tribute of twelve of the handsomest girls, all aged from twelve to fifteen; otherwise I swear by the one God I will ravage your country, and carry away all its males, young and old, into slavery." The Vladika communicates this letter to the Glavars of the tribes, and declares to them that if they submit, he will separate from them as dishonoured men. The reply of the Glavars was: "We will all lose our heads rather than live in shame, though slavery were to prolong our lives by a century." Fortified by the unanimity of his people, the Vladika replies to the Vizier of Bosnia: "How canst thou, renegade, eater of Hertsegovina plums, demand the haratch of the sons of the free mountain? The tribute we will send thee will be a stone from our soil, and instead of twelve virgins thou shalt receive twelve pig's tails with which thou mayst adorn thy turban, in order to make thee remember that girls are reared in Tsernogora neither for Turks nor renegades, and that rather than give up a single one of them, we would all perfer to die palsied, blind, and without hands. If thou wilt attack us, come on. We hope thou wilt leave thy head amongst us, and that it will roll in our valleys, where so many Turkish sculls lie strewn."

On receiving this reply the Pacha stamped the ground in a fury, seized his beard with his hands, and shouted for all his captains. They hurried to him with forty-five thousand soldiers, and led by the Vizier's *kiaia* (lieutenant) they advanced to sweep the Black Mountain with fire and sword. The Tsernogorki awaited them, entrenched in the defile of Brod, under the white fortress of Onogoshto. There the two armies saluted each other with fusillades for fourteen days without interruption.

Suddenly our young heroes lament; they have no more lead or powder. Passing along before the foot of their entrenchments which no longer vomit fire, the Turks go and burn the villages. But God sent us unlooked for aid: in spite of the strict prohibitions of the Doge of Venice, a compassionate stranger came and sold us several thousand cartridges in one night. The sons of Tsernogora fell to dancing and singing for joy at the sight. As soon as the dawn appeared, they made the sign of the cross, and threw themselves upon the camp of the Turks, like wolves on a white flock. They put them to the rout, and pursued them until night over mountain and dale. The Kiaia himself fled wounded to his Vizier, to tell him how many fair Tsernogorkas he brought with him."

Venice, though belonging to the Latin Church, always possessed great influence in Montenegro, until, in 1767, the Russians supplanted the Venetians in the affections of the mountaineers: a Slave adventurer, whom some believe to have

been an Austrian deserter, having under the name of Stiepan Mali (Little Stephen) taken service with a mountaineer of Maïni, near Boudva, contrived to make his master believe that he was no other than the Tsar Peter III.* in person. Stephen soon passed over into Montenegro, where he made some partisans, thanks to the indolence of the Vladika Sava, who, after studying at St. Petersburg, had become the successor of the intrepid Vassili. Finally, the Montenegrins were so cajoled as to choose the pretended Tsar for their political chief. The Serb patriarch of Ipek sent to offer him his services, with a present of a very handsome horse. It is true that on hearing of this the Turks expelled that prelate, who was forced to seek refuge with his adoptive sovereign; but the rayahs only showed the more attachment to the impostor, and there were sanguinary riots in his favour even on the Venetian territory, particularly at Risano. The troops of the Doge, several thousand strong, having blockaded that little town, were beaten by the inhabitants and were forced to retreat, leaving several hundred dead. Venice, it is said, sent to entreat the Court of Russia to disabuse the Montenegrins respecting the false Tsar; and Prince Dolgorouki was sent with that view to the Black Mountain, where he declared to all the glavars assembled in *sobor* at Tsetinie, that the real Peter III. was dead, and that his tomb was to be seen in Russia. Stephen was then arrested by order of the Vladika Sava, and given up to Dolgorouki; but the Russian envoy having shut up his prisoner in a room above his own, the cunning Stephen cried out to the Montenegrins, "You see that the Prince himself recognises me for his superior, since he does not dare to lodge me below him." Convinced by this reasoning, the Montenegrins rescued the prisoner, and Prince Dolgorouki had to quit the country in more haste than he had entered it.

The Turks then took the field, at the instigation, it is believed, of the Venetians. Three armies, commanded by the Viziers of Albania, Bosnia, and Macedonia, simultaneously invaded Montenegro by way of Glouhido, Nikshitcha, and

* Who had been strangled in 1762 by order of the Empress Catherine. Six other impostors arose about this time, the last of whom, the Cossack Pugatshef, maintained himself in Russia against the forces of Catherine from 1773 to 1775, when he was taken and put to death.

Podgoritsa. The conflicts that ensued were partial, but obstinate. After two months of daily skirmishing, the Montenegrins had exhausted all their ammunition, and could not procure a fresh supply; for ungrateful Venice, thenceforth interested in their destruction, and wishing to extend her commerce over their ruins, had lined all her frontier with a cordon of troops, and would not let either provisions or ammunition enter the mountain. The Osmanlis were thus enabled to ravage several valleys, and burn a great number of villages. Yet, notwithstanding the considerable forces they had assembled, they could not penetrate as far as Tsetinie, and were obliged to retreat at the approach of winter. A piesma, entitled *Bogovanie* (God's work) recounts this glorious campaign of 1768:

The Venetian Doge writes to the Tsar of white Stamboul; he salutes him amicably and says: "Pure Sultan, thou knowest that on those rocks of Tsernogora the whole people starts up at the mere name of the Russian emperor, as children would do for their father. Let us together destroy those rebels, and let no trace of them remain. I will rouse my Dalmatians and my brave Croat volunteers, and I will post them on the frontier, so that the bands which escape thy scimetar may not escape my sword." Forthwith the Osmanli Tsar assembles his Albanians, his Bosnians, and his Rumeliotes, in all a hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot, who with their Viziers at their head march towards the Black Mountain and invade it on three sides at once, whilst the Venetians cover their frontier with troops.

Hemmed in on all sides, the Tsernogorki invoke God on high, and resolve in a general assembly that they must not think of life, but of dying gloriously for the faith and for dear liberty; then to the number of ten thousand against a hundred and twenty thousand enemies, they set off in different bodies for the several points attacked. The march of the Turks was flanked by conflagrations, and they advanced far into the country; but there death awaited them, for they know not how to hide between rocks and trees like our warriors. Vainly they cried to our men: 'Souls of mice, Tsernogorki, get up, and let us see you in the plain! Where are you running to, like rats, through the brambles?" Shots were fired from the brambles for all that, and struck down the enemy unawares.

The Turk however continues to fight for nine weeks, and our poor haiduks have no more powder or lead. They are on the verge of destruction when the Tsernogorki fortune, the *good* fortune sent by God, comes to hand: on the 1st of November heavy rain falls from the clouds and

lasts till the following day, accompanied by thunder and lightning, that destroy the camp of the Doge of Venice near Boudva, and rend to pieces the tents of the Pacha of Skadar. In the midst of the disorder the mountaineers rush in and seize the ill-guarded ammunition. Thenceforth well supplied, they defy the three Viziers, who, hopeless of maintaining their position during the winter in the mountain, evacuate it, and leave all the paths strewn with dead bodies. Thus does the true God help those who pray to him: believe, therefore, in Christ, dear *probatim*, believe in the God whom the Tsernogorki adore, the God from whom they receive gladness, courage, and health.

Stephen, for whom the mountaineers had won this glorious victory, played but an insignificant part during the war, and lost all credit through his unwarlike supineness. Nevertheless, he had governed Tsernogora for four years with such sway that he had caused two mountaineers to be shot for robbery, which the Vladika himself would not have ventured to do; and he had left a purse and a silver mounted pistol exposed for several weeks on a rock upon the road to Cattaro, and no one had dared to touch them. Having lost his sight by an explosion, Stephen retired into a monastery, where he is said to have been assassinated as he slept, by a spy of the Pacha of Scutari. This singular episode in the history of the Montenegrins served at least to exalt their hopes to a high degree; the thought that a banished Emperor had chosen to become a member of their commonwealth, confirmed them in the belief that they were worthy to found an empire. The end of the eighteenth century revealed them to the Greco-Slave world as conquerors, or rather as emancipators; with their aid a part of Hertsegovina and the Albanian districts of the north-east ceased to submit to the haratch.

The great powers of Europe had at last perceived that the Black Mountain was worthy of their notice; and, thenceforth, under the specious pretext of affording it aid, they sought only to absorb it. This was the policy of Austria and Russia especially; but Peter Petrovitch, the Vladika who then governed the Tsernogorki, cleverly took advantage of the mutual rivalry of those powers. In 1777 he had himself consecrated as Metropolitan, under the auspices of the Austrians at Karlovitch, in Syrmia; and then he went to the court of the Tsar, who made him an honorary mem-

ber of the great synod of Russia. Thus alternately ingratiating himself with the two protecting empires, Peter set the example of that adroit policy which his successors have pursued to this day.

Peter took advantage of the anarchy in the Ottoman provinces to cut off from the Pachalic of Scutari a great number of districts, which have since been confederated with Montenegro, under the name of the *Berda*; but this was not effected without bloody battles, the last of which, that of Kroussa, for a long while freed Montenegro from the Albanian invasions. The Vladika behaved with admirable ability in that battle, and long afterwards the pious elders of Tsetinie applied to him the verse of the Bible on the defeat of the Midianites by Gideon, after which "the country was in quietness forty years." The Gideon of the Black Mountain caused the head of his rival, the Vizier of Albania, to be embalmed and exposed in his audience hall at Stanievitch, whence it was afterwards transferred to Tsetinie. Like the head on which was laid the first stone of the Temple of Jupiter at Rome, that head of the Bouchatli became, as it were, the base of the Tsernogorki capitol. The signal victory of Kroussa opened a new era for the Montenegrins, whose independence was thenceforth confirmed in the eyes of Europe, and recognized by the Sultan himself, who ceased from that time forth to demand from them payment of the haratch.

CHAPTER V.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF THE MONTENEGRINS.

The French Republic, after its victories over the Turks in Egypt, was hailed with enthusiasm by all the Greco-Slaves; but all was changed when Napoleon went so far as to enter into alliance with the Sultan. It was then easy for Russia to make Montenegro a focus of intrigue and reaction against the French rule in the old Venetian provinces. A long war

ensued in those provinces between the French garrison and the Tsernogorki, who, though generally defeated, never gave way without having fought bravely. The first of the piesmas, which comprise this long drama, is entitled the "Fall of Venice."

Two mighty men are disputing for the crown of the Doge of Venice; the one is the Cæsar of Vienna, the other is the Kral Bonaparte. The young Kral writes to the Cæsar; "If thou wilt not give up Venice to me, I will go with my French and burn all thy villages and take thy castles and thy white capital; I will enter thy own divan on horseback and change thy palace into a hospital. I will drive thee out of the German land; Prague the golden, and thy city of Milan, shall become my prey; I will wrest from thee Istria, Dalmatia, and Cattaro, and will return and take my royal repose in Venice.

The Cæsar on receipt of this letter assembles his lords and lays it before them; all are struck with consternation, all talk of submission, the archdukes alone protest, and resistance is resolved on. At this news the Kral Bonaparte exclaims, "Poor Cæsar of Vienna, thou art bold enough then to engage in strife with France; be it so!"—And away he goes with his Frenchmen, burns towns and villages, and traverses all the provinces in spite of the valiant Kutusov, who had come from Moscow to help the Cæsar of the Germans. And neither the Cæsar nor Kutusov dared to stop the way against Bonaparte, who entered without striking a blow into Vienna, where he cracked no end of jokes upon the poor Cæsar. Then he marched to Milan, which being defended by a Slave general, Philip Voukassovitch, only surrendered after three days. Master of Milan, he carried his arms all over Italy, and came, as he had promised, to take his royal repose in Venice."

"Then," says the *Grlitsa* (vol. ii. 1836), in an official article, "the French, by the treaty of Campo Formio, gave up the Bocche di Cattaro, to the empire of Austria, forgetting that when Cattaro voluntarily gave itself to the Venetians in 1410, it did so upon the express condition that if ever Venice should cease to be able to protect them, the inhabitants of the Bocche should resume their former freedom, without its being lawful to cede them to another power. It was not, therefore, without grief they saw themselves adjudged, contrary to all justice, to the Roman Emperor; and their principal knezes resolved to send a deputation to the Vladika of the Tsernogorki to ask his advice and succour."

From that moment the Vladika was regarded by a great portion of the maritime Serbs as their natural protector, and his influence among them increased in proportion as that of Ragusa declined. Before the French invasion that celebrated republic was so venerated throughout all the peninsula, that the Slaves of Turkey themselves used to carry their disputes for decision before its tribunals. Its aristocracy, purely civil, solely occupied with parliamentary proceedings, recognizing only legal order, and asserting no feudal or military pretensions whatever, were the most paternal aristocracy in Europe. That little state, always tranquil, presented the most striking contrast with the stirring and warlike republic of Montenegro. When the French entered Ragusa, there had not been one capital sentence pronounced there for five and twenty years. When it was necessary to pass a sentence of death the republic put on mourning; an executioner was brought in from Turkey, and immediately after the execution he was paid and sent away, without being allowed even to remain for the rest of the day in that city of peace. The Montenegrin forays, and the vengeances which the Latin Serbs felt themselves obliged to take in consequence, were the only things that disturbed the profound tranquillity of the country.

With the French began a new era for the Latin Serbs: the sound maxims of the old republics gave place to demagogue notions imported from Paris; many a piesma deplores the excesses to which the Serb *jacobins* gave themselves up at that time. Those of Cattaro are represented in one of these lays, as writing thus to Bonaparte:

"O thou who art our father and our mother, hasten hither if thou wouldst not have the Schwabi give us up to the Russians or the English; we long for thee."

French influence was not, however, to be established at Cattaro without hard struggles; other yunaks were writing at the same time to Admiral Siniavin then at white Corfu:

"It is now four centuries since the Serbs lost their Tsar at Kossovo; from that time forth all our illustrious families lived in Primorea,* under the shadow of the Doge of Venice, who behaved admirably towards us;

* This name designates all the mountain countries in which Serbian is spoken.

no father could be tenderer towards his children. We were then miserably sold to that hard Cæsar of Vienna, who oppressed us for nine years; and now the Jacobins want to sell us again to their friend Bonaparte. But come, glorious Siniavin, and protect us; thou shalt be the father of our sons."

The piesmas add that the Russian admiral, on receipt of the letter, sailed with his fleet and took possession of the Bocche di Cattaro. Official history agrees pretty nearly with the popular songs; it relates that Cattaro was, by virtue of the treaty of Presburg, to be given up to France, but that the inhabitants, with the connivance of the Austrians, surrendered the place to the Russian cruizers of Corfu, whom they regarded as less formidable masters than the French of Italy, in consequence of the remoteness of Russia from Cattaro. It was then that the Montenegrins, aided by a Muscovite force, opened their campaign of 1806 with an attack upon General Lauriston, and the French in Ragusa. They laid siege simultaneously to Ragusa and Cattaro twenty thousand strong. They claimed the latter town as having belonged to the Serbian kingdom until 1343, and as forming one of the most ancient apanages of their Vladika. As for Ragusa they proposed to make it their own by right of conquest. The Russian fleet, which bombarded the place by sea, had landed three thousand men to aid the mountaineers, and the siege was warmly pressed, when General Molitor came from Zara with the whole disposable force of the French in Dalmatia, amounting only to sixteen hundred men. With that small body he proceeded to relieve Ragusa from the presence of its thirteen thousand besiegers. He charged the dispersed plemes of the Montenegrins with the bayonet, and drove them back on the Russians, who, in their turn, gave way. The fugitives abandoned their artillery and their camp, and made their escape on board the fleet. This victory, which seems fabulous, secured the French in the possession of the Bocche di Cattaro. Disabled from continuing the war on a grand scale, the mountaineers revenged themselves by isolated forays, in one of which they beheaded General Delgorgues, who had fallen alive into their hands. One of Marmont's adjutants, named Gaiet, shared the general's fate. Finally, they lost so many men in the affair of Castel Novo, in 1807, that they could no

longer keep the field, and concluded with the French. to whom the treaty of Tilsit had given Cattaro, a peace which was earnesty desired, and which was not disturbed until 1813. In that year the Montenegrins again demanded back *their town of Cattaro*, and not obtaining it, they marched to reconquer it. A long piesma relates the course of this campaign: we will quote only the leading traits:

The Vladika Peter writes to Niegouchi, to the *gouvernadour** Vouk Radonitch: "Halo! hearken to me, gourvernadour Vouk, assemble thy Niegouchi, and with them all the Tseklitch, and march at their head to Cattaro to besiege the brave French there, and bar the roads and stairs leading to the citadel in such wise that no one may be able to get in. Meanwhile I will go from Tsetinie to Maïna, and will take the town of Boudva with my people." When Vouk had read this finely penned letter he leaped for joy, assembled a strong body of men, mounted his horse, and set off for Cattaro. On reaching the torrent of Gorajda he pitched his tent on the bank, caused the heights to be occupied, and so cut off Cattaro from the fort of Troïtsa. The Vladika meanwhile descends with his people towards Maïna where all the *Primortsi* (maritime Serbs) flock to meet him, and proclaim the free annexation of their province to the Black Mountain.

At dawn next day the Vladika rises, convokes all his Tsernogorki and Primortsi brethren, and asks does any of them know a means of delivering Boudva, which shall spare the blood of the Serbs and of the brave French. Thereupon Peter Djurashkovitch gets upon his legs, kisses the Vladika's hand, and says to him in a respectful tone: "Hospodar, here is the way to get possession of Boudva with the least possible bloodshed. There are in that town as many Serb pandours as French soldiers; let us write to the chief of those Pandours, the Kerstitchevitch Vouko, and bid him pick a quarrel with the foreign garrison, and whilst the quarrel is afoot, we will approach the unguarded ramparts." The Vladika follows this advice and writes to the chief of the Pandours, promising him a large reward on the part of Russia.

The Kerstitchevitch assembles his brethren, and reads them the letter he has received. The Pandours reply: "It would be ill done in us to betray the post intrusted to our good faith." They refuse to take part in their chief's design; but he remains firm. "Being all Serbs," he says, "we must all act in accordance with our holy Vladika." At last the chief succeeds in gaining over a portion of his men. They begin by ridding

* Civil governor, invested with the executive power of the republic.

themselves of such of their countrymen as are most attached to France; then falling on the French they kill such as refuse to yield, tie the rest two and two, and open at day break the gates of white Boudva. Mounted on his great horse and light as a grey falcon, the Vladika entered the place and returned thanks to God.

The Governadour Vouk encamped on the Gorajda, learning the capture of Boudva, said to his people: "We cannot live on shame; let us get up at dawn and go storm the fort of Troïtsa." From the ramparts of Cattaro the mighty French general perceives the movement of the Serbs, and cries out: "Glory to the Supreme Being who lets us see at last how the goats of Tsernogora escalade the imperial fortresses!" Then turning to his staff, "Which of you," said he, "will go and succour Troïtsa?" Captain Campaniole replies, "General, give me three hundred soldiers, and I will go and set fire to the tails of all those mountain rats, twenty of whom shall be reserved and brought alive to thee."

Campaniole sets off with his braves; but whilst the eagle is mounting towards Troïtsa, the Tsernogorki steal along in his rear to cut off his retreat, spread along his flanks under cover of the rocks, and completely surround him. The entrapped hero struggles and strives like a lion; at last he forms a square battalion, and marches back down the mountain. He had nearly reached Vernets when a bullet stretched that terrible eagle on the grass. Another bullet struck the Kneze Shaliar, who followed the French; a third brought down the standard bearer: he was dead before he touched the ground. A hundred grenadiers fell like brave men, covered with wounds and pursued by those mountain rats to the foot of the ramparts. At that sight the fifty French who defended Troïtsa surrendered, and the victors destroyed the fortress after having carried off the four green cannons, the fine French cannons, that served to give joyous salvos to the Vladika, when he came with his army to join that of the Gouvernadour Vouk.

The official bulletin* on the taking of Boudva and Troïtsa, adds some details to those given in the piesma. It assigns the date of the 11th September, to the capture of Boudva, in which fifty-seven French were made prisoners; and that of the 12th of the same month to the storming and capture of Troïtsa, after an ineffectual sally of the garrison of Cattaro, which was driven back into the town, leaving, besides its dead, thirty-six prisoners in the hands of the Montenegrins; but this bulletin admits that the fort of Troïtsa, hav-

* *Grlitsa*, vol. iv, 1838.

ing been mined by the French, blew up an hour after it was stormed by the mountaineers. As for Cattaro, General Gautier, sustained a siege there for several months, but surrendered in December to the English, who restored Cattaro to the Montenegrins in accordance with a treaty entered into by them with the Vladika. In the spring of the following year (1814) the Montenegrins lost that precious acquisition by the formal transfer which the Emperor Alexander made of it to the Austrians. By order of the 'Cæsar of Vienna,' General Miloutinovitch marched from Ragusa to expel the Vladika from the Bocche di Cattaro. The popular ballads maintain a sullen silence on this sad event; whereas, the Latin Serbs of Ragusa have composed long and jocular descants on the discomfiture of the holy Vladika, and the evacuation of Cattaro. They acknowledge, however, the bravery with which the black warriors defended the place, against Miloutinovitch and his Austrians, having fired their last cartridge before they retired.

Peter returned sadly to his mountain, and applied himself to heal the wounds of his people in peace, until the year 1820, when the cruel Jelaludin, Vizier of Bosnia, descended the valley of the Moratcha with a strong army, to subdue the Montenegrins. The latter drew him into their defiles, and proved to the Porte, by their complete triumph over him, that if they had been forced to yield to European strategy, they still retained their full superiority over the irregular forces of Islam. The rout of the Bosnian Vizier, who soon afterwards killed himself for shame, reduced the Mussulman warfare against the Black Mountain, to a mere succession of skirmishes of no historical importance.

On the 18th of October, 1830, the great Vladika Peter, who might almost be styled the Louis XIV of Tsernogora, died at the age of eighty, after a reign of half a century. That obscure antagonist of Napoleon on the Adriatic, contributed more than any of his predecessors towards the consolidation of his country. His bravery, and the invincible energy of his will, in no respect diminished the extraordinary gentleness of his disposition; he had the gift of persuasion and eloquence in such a degree, that a word from him was enough to obtain the most costly sacrifices on the part of the Montenegrins. His power was unlimited, and he commanded

even the gouvernadour, though the latter was nominally his equal, and sat face to face with him. So simple and austere were his habits of life, that in his last illness he had not even a fire in the poor cell that served him for a bed-room. After this chief of a heroic people had expired, all the plemes gathered round his remains to kiss his hand for the last time; and in compliance with the wish expressed in his will, a truce of six months with all enemies at home and abroad was vowed over his tomb. Four years afterwards, upon the opening of the coffin of Peter I, the inhabitants of Tsetinie having found his body in perfect preservation, cried out, "A miracle!" The great man was declared a saint: his bones were laid on an altar, which has subsequently been visited by many pilgrims from all the Serb provinces.

Immediately after the death of Peter I, one of his nephews, whom he had designated to succeed him, was unanimously hailed by the whole people as their Vladika, by the name of Peter II. As he was not yet in orders, Mustapha, son of the famous Kara Mahmoud, and last Pacha of the Boushatli family, allowed the bishop of Prisren to go to the Mountain, and ordain the new Regent, who did not go to St. Petersburg to be consecrated a bishop until 1833. The danger which menaced the independence of Montenegro compelled Peter to remain at home until that year. The Grand Vizier, Reschid Pacha, who had forced the rebel Mustapha to capitulate in Scutari, was thinking of conquering Montenegro as he had conquered Albania, by sowing discord among the inhabitants; but he knew not how unassailable are the constancy and public spirit of that people. In vain he lavished gold; in vain he offered the Vladika, in the name of the Sultan, a berat of hereditary investiture like that of the Prince of Servia, Milosh. The Vladika, who felt himself already in a better position than that of the protected and tributary princes of the Danube, replied that he had no need of a berat so long as his fellow-citizens were willing to defend him; and that should they ever be unwilling to do so, a berat would be of no use to him. This sublime reply on the part of the head of a dynasty enchanted the Tsernogorki. The Petrovitch family, which, since its bloody vespers of 1703 until 1832, had never ceased to produce heroic priests, apostles alike of patriotism and religion, that family of Ma-

chabees was now invested by the people with boundless confidence. It was under these circumstances that Peter II., who had become dictator at the age of twenty, awaited the Grand Vizier's army, which was disciplined in the European manner and inured to war by its victories over the insurgent Albanians. But notwithstanding the superiority of his forces, the Grand Vizier was not without fear: and in order to feel his way, he sent forward his advanced guard, composed of 7000 young *taktiki* (regular soldiers), under Namik Halil, the new Pacha of Scutari. This corps contrived to conceal its march so well, that it arrived unexpectedly on the enemy's frontier, and got possession of the defile of Martinitch which it found undefended. A piesma gives the following account of the battle which was fought in April, 1832, and ended in the rout of the imperial Nizam.

On the frontier the young *popadia* of the fair village of Martinitch, the eaglet of Pope Radovitch, has had a dream. She has seen in a vision a dense cloud come from bloody Skadar, pass over Podgoritsa and Spouje, and discharge on the *celo* of Martinitch its long resounding thunder, and its brilliant lightning, that scorched the eyes of herself and her eight sisters-in-law. But a mighty wind blew from the church on the mountain, then another wind blew from Jupina, and a third from Slatina, and all three drove back the dark cloud to the plain of Spouje. She tells this dream to her husband, who at once foreseeing a speedy attack by the Mussulmans of the Spouje, gets up and makes ready his glittering carbine.

It was still night when the Turks rushed torch in hand into the unfortunate village. Pope Radovitch fought at the head of his parishioners, to cover the flight of the women, until he was mangled and laid low by chained balls. "Ho! nephews," cries the husband of the dreaming popadia, "Where are you, Stepho and Gabriel? I am wounded, sore wounded and beyond cure, in defending our homes against the incendiaries; but I die content for I have sold my life dear. Yet carry off my body, my poor nephews, that the Turks may not cut off and profane my head, and warn all our chivalry* of the invasion, that they may not be exterminated." Up came Stepho and Gabriel with thirty shepherds, surprised the scattered Turks, cut off thirty of their heads, and drove them out of the village back to Namik Halil.

Meanwhile Namik draws up three thousand Taktiki in order of battle,

* Literally *Yunakery*, the whole body of the Montegrin men of valour.

and begins to batter the koulas of Martinitch with his artillery. But the alarm has been given, and reinforcements arrive: Radovan Pouliev, the Capetan of Bernitsa, comes with his men; the Berdjani of Piperi and Bielopavlitch come, eight hundred strong, and attack in front the three thousand Taktiki and all the rest of the Turkish army. Namik Halil was not lucky, for he was trampled by horses, and pursued up to the gates of Spouje, behind which alone his life was safe. A hundred and sixty four Turks were killed, and three hundred wounded. He may go now, may Pacha Namik Hamil, and pay his court to the pure Tsar of Stamboul, who had given him the command of his fine Nizam that he might change calves into lions. Serb falcons, how well you put the Imperial Pachas back into the right road with your carbines, for fear they should stray and lose themselves with their men in the deep forests! How you make them collect a plentiful haratch, until tired at last of their too frequent visits, you cut off their heads: which God be thanked, will always happen, so long as there are carbines and brave hearts in the free black mountain!

The Grand Vizier was preparing to revenge the discomfiture of the Nizam by marching in person against the Montenegrins, when he was ordered to Syria to oppose the son of the Viceroy of Egypt. On the restoration of peace, the Vladika promptly availed himself of the popularity he had acquired for the consolidation of his power. He had the boldness to bring the *gouvernadour* Radovitch to trial, on the charge of favouring Austria, a power hostile to Montenegro, and aspiring, in concert with it, to absolute power. The old man was declared a traitor, and condemned to banishment with all his family; his property was confiscated, the house of his fathers at Niegoushi was reduced to ashes, and he went to Cattaro, where his family continues to be maintained by Austria since his death. The post of civil governor remained unoccupied. A moment had sufficed for the accomplishment of this great measure; but the Vladika would hardly have carried the affair through so easily but for the assassination of the governor's younger brother, the most heroic and the most beloved of the Radovitch. Having made himself secure at home, Peter II. went to Vienna where he was ill received by M. de Metternich, in consequence of which he went to Russia to obtain episcopal consecration.

The party of the civil governor raised their heads again during the absence of Peter II., and chose for their leaders the family of the Voukotitch of Tchevo, from whom the

Radovitch had inherited or purchased the office. The last representative of the Voukotitch had been sent to Russia by the late Vladika, to recover the large inheritance of his kinsman, General Ivo Podgoritsanin, a Serbian hero celebrated in the piesmas. Having secured the property, Voukotitch left it invested in Russia, and returned to Montenegro, where he gave out that he had been sent by Russia to reform the laws of the country. The senate believed him, and elected him for its president, giving the vice-presidency to his nephew and fellow-traveller Voukitchevitch, who was immediately betrothed to a sister of the Vladika. But the young man having soon afterwards returned to Russia, fell in love there with a fair Muscovite, whom he married and brought to Cattaro; and this so incensed the Montenegrins that they drove the faithless man with contempt out of their territory. The Vladika, who had meanwhile returned, made the uncle share the disgrace incurred by the nephew, and the two russophiles were forced in 1834 to seek refuge in the country of their predilection.

Then it was that Peter II. began really to reign. He had not yet ventured to appear as a reformer; to secure a favourable reception for his plans of regeneration he took care to present them under the tutelary name of the deceased Vladika, the good genius of Montenegro, whose sacred wishes should be religiously fulfilled. At last, boldly seizing the helm of the state, he governed only in his own name, and invested himself with an authority to which no previous Vladika had dared to aspire. To show what a mighty influence Peter II. had rapidly acquired, it is enough to state in what manner he hindered a new war with the Sultan in 1835. A troop of bold yunaks of Tsernitsa Nahia having surprised the fortress of Spouje by night, massacred the Turkish garrison, and carried off one cannon. Some months afterwards, under pretext of avenging the burning of their maize crops by the Turks, some parties of *koutchi* surprised the citadel of Jabliak, planted their standards there in the name of its first possessor, the Tsernoyevitch Ivo, and took measures for establishing themselves there permanently. A long piesma, published in the *Grlitsa* of 1836, strenuously extols this daring deed.

The importance of Jabliak, and its excellent position on the lake of Skadar, seemed to make it imperative on the

Montenegrins not to let it out of their hands. Peter II. thought otherwise; he threatened his countrymen with excommunication if they persisted in retaining their conquest, and Jabliak was evacuated. The Vladika then concluded an *eternal* peace with the Pacha of Podgoritsa; but, before the year was out war had already been renewed by a fresh foray of the Turks of that town against the inhabitants of the Berda, from whom they carried off several thousand sheep, killing fifteen of the shepherds. A feud immediately ensued between the despoiled and the spoilers. The Vladika affected not to be aware of these reprisals, which were considered only as private feuds, of which the respective governments of Tsetinie and Stamboul were not to take any notice. In thus isolating itself from the quarrels of the tribes, and concealing its real weakness under the veil of neutrality, the government of Montenegro gradually accustomed the Turks to regard it as a legitimate power.

This policy, however applicable in the East, could not be suitably maintained towards a European state. The Vladika was, therefore, constrained to quit his sanctuary when his countrymen resolved, in August, 1838, to recommence against the Austrians the warfare they had before waged with the French of the empire, in order to secure a maritime point unjustly refused to Montenegro by the Congress of Vienna. Among the districts formerly dependent on the Mountain, and now known as Austrian Albania, are the Maïni, the Pashtrovitch, and the peninsula of Loustitsa. The salt-works in these districts, which belonged to the old chiefs of Montenegro, were destroyed by the Venetians in 1650, and their place taken by those of Risano, whence the mountaineers now derive their supplies, so that they are dependent on Austria for one of the necessaries of life. The canton of Pastrovitch, to which belongs the convent of Lastva, situated in a plain admirably cultivated and famous for its olives and its exquisite fruit, occupies almost the whole coast from Boudva to Antivari. Its inhabitants had acquired celebrity and much wealth as mariners; they were military allies of Venice, paid her no taxes, chose their own leaders both for peace and war, and had in the castle of St. Stephen, on a small island, their own government, consisting of twelve *vlastels* or plenipotentiaries and six stareshins. Held in

great esteem by the Venetians, these proud allies, like the Franks in the Roman Empire, were entitled by a special law to marry the daughters of the first families in the republic. When the present arbitrary demarcations were imposed on Europe, Austria obtained this noble tribe, which, decimated and reduced to 3000 souls, still remains divided into twelve families, and retains its thirty-seven villages on the coast. For some years past, however, their extreme penury has compelled them from time to time to sell to the Montenegrins many pastures, which the latter have transformed into cultivated fields, and settling amongst them, have built houses and established their own way of life there. To put an end to the sanguinary disorders thence arising, the Austrians wished to eject the Montenegrins from the lands of Pashtrovitch, at the same time offering to indemnify them for the loss of their property. Negotiations took place to that effect; the Vladika assented to the expropriation: but when the Austrian engineers began their survey, for the purpose of marking out the new frontier, the Montenegrins were enraged at the sight of foreigners measuring their fields, and on the 2nd of August they fell upon the Austrian surveyors, who were obliged to escape in haste from the plateau of Troïtsa.

The mountaineers then attacked the fortified tower of Gomila, in which Captain Spanner stood fast with his light-company. Next day four or five thousand fighting men of the Tsernitsa Nahia marched out through the pass of Outerg, which faces Austria, and furiously attacked the koula, and the imperial post of Vidrak. Being beaten back at every assault, they at last hit upon the device of placing a woman at the head of their ranks. A woman is in the eyes of the Serbs a sacred being, on whom they would not dare to fire under any circumstances: but the *Schwabi*, who are not restrained by any such fanatical respect for woman, shot the unfortunate creature. The act excited such horror among the assailants, that for eight and twenty hours they never desisted from the most furious attempts to storm the entrenchments. An Austrian reinforcement which came to the relief of the besieged, was repulsed with loss. Nevertheless, the garrison of the koula, though numbering but twenty-seven men, made a desperate resistance, until at last several imperial

companies, arriving from different quarters, fell simultaneously on the Montenegrins, and compelled them to quit the koula, in order to make head against those new enemies. The conflict was terrible, and the issue long doubtful; the boys and the old men heaved pieces of rock from the mountain side on the enemy, that hit their mark as if aimed from mortars. Night alone separated the combatants; the Austrians had fought like heroes; the company of Lieutenant Rossbach, a veteran who had lost an eye at the battle of Aspern, especially distinguished itself by its gallant bayonet charges.

Some days passed in preparations for a general engagement, which took place on the 6th of August. A thousand Dalmatian peasants, more accustomed than the troops of the line to mountain warfare, were annexed to the imperial troops, and guided them into the defiles of the Pashtrovitch, whence the Montenegrin army retreated, with the intention of decoying the Austrians into more perilous defiles. The latter fell into the snare: the Montenegrins assailed them on all sides with tremendous yells, forced them to retire in disorder, and pursued them to the point from which they had advanced. Just then the Austrian division of Gomila came fresh into the fight, and fell upon the wearied victors. The Montenegrins were compelled to retire to their escarped positions, but not till they had sustained a fight of several hours with the fresh troops. The Austrians pretend that they lost only eight soldiers, and one officer in this battle, and had only fourteen wounded, a statement which seems impossible, considering the length and the violence of the action.* The loss of the Montengrins was never known, for they wrested all their dead with fanatical courage from the hands of the enemy.

The Vladika, however, alarmed at the possible results of a war, into which his people had rushed singly against all the forces of Austria, pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who should continue hostilities, and the pious mountaineers instantly desisted, but took care to carry off with them to Tsetinie the heads of the Austrian grenadiers

* Every one knows how, in the late Hungarian war, Prince Windischgratz marched from victory to victory—until at last he was marched out of the country. His bulletin of battle after battle gave one man killed as the loss on the Austrian side.

they had killed, and to plant them on the posts of the *palanka* where they are still to be seen.

The warriors having done their work, that of the poets began; they did justice to the gallantry of Lieutenant Rossbach, "The great one-eyed Voievode," and to his men, "dauntless wolves," who were worthy to fight with the braves of Tsernegora. "But death to their chiefs. Death to those impious despisers of all human rights, who would rob their neighbour of his heritage, of the house in which his children were born, and which God has commanded him to defend, as the future cradle of his children's children! Happily the volleys that rained by night from our mountain like shooting stars, and the swift strokes of our swords, drove back those violators of women, those masters of the castles of the green coast and the sea, which they have usurped from the sons of the Tsernoyevitch Ivo." The only thing the yunaks regretted was that they could not continue a war of haiduks in Dalmatia against Austria, in concert with their maritime brethren the Morlacchi. They thought that in the end that power would have grown tired of the contest, and have yielded them those few leagues of coast south of Budva, from which it derives no advantage, and which would suffice to bestow a European existence on Montenegro.

Far from making such concessions, the cabinet of Vienna took advantage of the pacific disposition of Peter II, to purchase from him the convents of Stanievitch and Podmaïni, private property of the Vladika; which were sold, with all their dependencies, in 1839, without the consent of the people. Stanievitch is within two leagues of Boudva, and had been the residence of the Vladikas for nearly two years, until Peter I quitted it during his war with the French, in consequence of its too great proximity to their garrison in Boudva. Austria next demanded a regular delineation of the frontiers, which was effected in March 1840, under the auspices of Russia, which was chosen as umpire by both parties. The treaty of peace which was signed on this occasion was of great diplomatic importance, since it brought Montenegro, for the first time, under the common law of Europe. Convinced at last of the advantage of a reconciliation, at least in appearance, with the *Schwabi*, the Montenegrins allowed their

Vladika to erect a gallows in front of Boudva, on which was to be hung whoever ventured thenceforth to make a raid upon Austrian soil.

As soon as he had made peace with Austria, the Vladika directed all the energies of his warlike people against the Turks of Hertsegovina and Albania; but their triumphs in several successive campaigns brought them little or no territorial advantages. The possession of the large island of Vranina, which fell into their hands in 1838, seemed likely to lead to the conquest of the whole district round the lake of Scutari; but they lost it again in 1846. The Albanians, finding the Vladika fully engaged at that time in a war with Hertsegovina, and unprepared for their hostility, during a truce, took possession of the island. In vain did the Montenegrins object to their treachery: the Turks fortified it; and when attacked by the Vladika in the autumn of the same year, it was found to be too strong for a *coup-de-main*, and it still continues in the hands of the Albanians.*

CHAPTER VI.

PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF MONTENEGRO.

Peter II., the reformer of Montenegro, died last year, and was succeeded by his nephew, Prince Daniel, who, like himself, had been educated in St. Petersburg. The late Vladika was a man of superior talents and acquirements. He read much, spoke several languages, was distinguished as a Serb poet, and united in his person the qualities of a good soldier and an able diplomatist. He was probably the only bishop of his day, who could hit with a rifle-ball a lemon thrown into the air by one of his attendants, a feat which added not a little to the confidence he enjoyed among his troops. His appearance, too, was greatly in his favour, and his majestic

* Wilkinson.

height, of about six feet eight inches, might well command the respect of a primitive and warlike race. Above all, he was an enthusiastic lover of his country. "Our neighbours," said he to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "have stigmatised the Montenegrins as robbers and assassins; but I am determined that they shall not be so, and will show that they are as capable of improvement and civilization as any other people." And he succeeded so well, that he was able to abolish the right of *krvina*, or hereditary vengeance, to punish theft, and almost entirely to suppress the pagan practice of abduction (*otmitsa*). He would also gladly have put an end to the barbarous practice of cutting off the heads of enemies on the field of battle, or of prisoners slaughtered in cold blood, and exposing them on stakes as trophies of victory; "but," he observed to his English visitor, "you, who have long known the Turks, will understand how impossible it is for us to be the first to abandon it, or to propose that it should be abolished; they would inevitably attribute our humane intentions to fear, and, in their usual way, requite us with increased vexations. Our making any proposition of the kind would almost be tantamount to an invitation to invade our territory; and I must continue to regret what I cannot venture, for our own security, to discontinue."

But laudable to all appearance as were the changes introduced by the late Vladika, Cyprien Robert thinks it just possible that they may be ultimately fatal to Montenegro. Unfortunately, he says, from the moment the Black Mountain ceases to be freer than its neighbours, it will be undone. The Greco-Slave peninsula is a land of helots in a permanent state of revolt, and Montenegro is a country of ouskoks, a camp of refuge; it cannot renounce that precious privilege without, at the same time, losing all its advantages. The love of civilization, which now possesses the Montenegrin leader, might be pernicious to their country, if it impelled them to introduce the Frank polity, and all the restrictions upon individual freedom which are deemed essential to the maintenance of order in European states. Nevertheless a more regular administration of some sort was absolutely necessary for Montenegro, a fact of which Peter I was aware: but though he made some partial efforts in that direction, the task of practically developing his views devolved on his successor.

The first step taken by the late Vladika towards the introduction of his civilising schemes, was the establishment in 1831 of a senate, invested with supreme legislative and judicial authority, and consisting of sixteen principal chiefs of the nation. An inferior tribunal, composed of 135 persons, called guardians, was also instituted for the decision of minor affairs, for making reports to the senate concerning those of more importance, and for the execution of the orders and decrees of the Senate itself. There was also formed a small body of government guards, composed of thirty Perianitchi (so called from the feather, *pero*, which they wear in their caps), who are selected from the principal families of the country, and who, on condition of doing duty properly armed, dressed, and mounted, receive ten dollars a-year for the keep of a horse. The salary of the senators is £8 English money, besides an allowance of flour; that of the guardians is £6 without any other addition. The other persons in authority are the Archimandrite, the Secretary of State, the Chancellor, the Captain of the Perianitchi, and forty Captains or Pretors, who are provincial judges.

The Senate-house (*Sovict*) is an oblong stone building, of one story, covered with thatch: it has two doors, one of which leads to an apartment used as a stable for oxen and donkeys, the other conducts to two separate apartments; that on the left is filled with bedsteads covered with straw, for the use of the senators, whose rifles hang about the walls; that on the right is the state-room; a stone bench runs along one of its walls, and in the midst there is a fire-place, round which the deliberations of the Supreme Council are generally held, and the dinners of its members cooked. When the Vladika is present, he usually occupies a seat on the stone bench, covered with a rug; the senators sit near him on the same bench; whilst those who cannot find room there, as well as litigant parties, occupy low wooden stools, or stones, round the fire-place, and carry on their deliberations, smoking their pipes. Whenever anything is to be committed to writing, the secretary of the Vladika is called in, and he either composes the necessary document in the convent, or writes in the assembly, after the Turkish fashion, on his knees.*

* Krasinski, Montenegro and the Slavonians of Turkey.

There are eight hundred National Guards distributed in the different provinces, where they do the duty of a police force, the most perilous part of which is the arrest of murderers. If the man they are in search of shuts himself up in his house, they cannot break in upon him, for Eastern usage absolutely forbids such a violation of the sanctity of the home. The late Vladika, however, cut the gordian knot of this difficulty, by enacting that the culprit's house should be set on fire over his head, leaving it to his option to remain there and be burnt to death, or to escape with no more property than he carries on his person. Dead in law, and despoiled of his land and his cattle, which are bestowed on the relation of his victim, the murderer seeks a refuge among the Turks, unless he is received by some tribe of confederate Ouskoks. This, it must be owned, is a barbarous kind of justice, since it reduces the children of the criminal to beggary; but it is confined in its application to the more powerful culprits only, who hope, with the help of their friends and retainers, to defeat or baffle the blockading force. The property of ordidinary criminals, who abscond to the forests, is not confiscated. When a man is condemned to death by the Senate, the sentence is executed by a number of persons chosen, one or two, from each tribe. He is placed before them, unbound, at a distance of forty paces; they all fire together; and, if he falls, his family cannot tell who killed him, and, therefore, do not consider themselves bound to revenge his death. If he is wounded, he is, nevertheless, considered to have undergone his sentence, and is not to be further molested.

Fines are now established for every offence, and whoever, wounds another in a quarrel is arrested; and his arms being taken from him are kept as a deposit until the fine is paid. Half the sum goes to the Vladika; the rest is divided between the senators and the officers of Government. And in order to show that the Vladika and the laws are in earnest, a prison has been set up at Tsetinie, where culprits are immured, without the advantages of being fed at the Government expense; and everyone depends during his confinement, for his bread and water, on his family or friends.*

It was easier to make the Montenegrins accept a regular form of Government than its inevitable attendant, taxation

* Sir G. Wilkinson.

It was no light matter to overcome "the unreasonable impatience of taxation" felt by a people who had been used for ages to levy imposts from their enemies, without ever paying any to their leaders. "We fight the Turks," they said, "because we will not pay the haratch; we might as well be Rayahs if we are to be taxed after all." The Vladika, however, was firm; each house or family was taxed to the amount of only four shillings a year, and the right of controlling the expenditure of their money being insured to the people, they consented to pay. Two refractory knezes having been shot, by way of example, in 1840, no resistance has been made since that time to the collection of the taxes, the total of which now amounts to 28,000 or 30,000 florins yearly. The whole revenue of the country, including 4,700*l.* given by Russia, is under 8,000*l.*

It would be difficult for foreigners to come to any definite conclusion for or against these reforms, which too directly affect the most vital interests of the country, to be fairly judged from without. Only it is to be desired that the individual existence of the tribes may not be too abruptly crushed. It is only by a natural, that is to say, a very slow gradation, that the Montenegrin can rise to the level of civilization, without losing the rich elements of freedom and patriotism which have hitherto sustained him. Among the means of regeneration the most fruitful would, doubtless, be the establishment of elementary village schools, like that which Peter II. founded at Tsetinie, in order that the cleverest youths might, at least, learn to read and write. The only schools in the country are those of the popes, who usually take one or two pupils, who serve them as menials, and whom they teach to decipher the old Sclavonic missals. Schools would be more surely effectual than gendarmes towards the extinction of prejudices; but the course of teaching should be kept free from European influence of every kind, and be based only on the national ideas and usages. To send youths abroad for their education would be to incur the risk of having them carry home with them the habits of Europe, and tastes and inclinations incompatible with the poverty and the military life of the Montenegrins. Experience has already proved that persons thus educated always become disgusted with their country; they choose

rather to be shopkeepers' assistants in Cattaro, than to live as free men in the mountains.

But it will be asked, has Montenegro indeed a more exalted future before it? How shall we answer this question? Eastern Europe has already had several celebrated republics, formed like that of Montenegro, out of a gathering of Ouskoks, and all have disappeared, from that of the Zaporogs of the Ukraine, immolated by Catherine the Second, to the Suliotes of Albania, whom we have seen fall so gloriously in our own day. Will the Ouskoks of Montenegro come to the same end as their predecessors? Several reasons induce us to hope better for them. They are backed by a numerous nation, which has every inducement to support them, at least until its own fortunes are re-established. Was not ancient Sparta itself a nest of brigands, organised in the midst of the classic world? Was it not the Montenegro of Greece? And yet that Black Mountain of the Hellenes was the last state that remained standing, and was able to defend itself when all the rest had ceased to exist. The German journalists, jealous of everything Sclavonian, conspire to represent Montenegro to Europe as a Russian colony, and its Vladika, as an imperial *natchalnik*; and they adduce, as an unanswerable proof of this assertion, the annual subsidy of 4,700*l*., paid by the Russian consul of Ragusa to the Vladika. But that payment dates from the time when Peter I. joined with the Russians against the French in Dalmatia, and is only a stipulated indemnity for the losses which the Montenegrin archbishop, or rather his see, sustained, when the French Government deprived it of its suffragan bishoprics in Dalmatia. This subsidy is, therefore, a debt contracted by Russia, which it ought to pay, even should its creditor become hostile to it.

That the Vladika Peter I. enjoined the people in his will never to fail in gratitude to Russia; that Peter II. sent his two nephews in 1840 to Russia; that cargoes of Russian wheat are often sent from Odessa to Montenegro, and that the *icones* and sacred vessels of Tsetinie are presents from the Tsar; all this proves nothing against the patriotism of the Tsernogorki. Can any one reasonably blame them for loving the Tsar, when that monarch is the only one who aids them? Do them some good and they will love you as they love their

northern benefactor. Again, it is objected that no services would secure their affections for nations differing from them in religion; but this assertion is contradicted by history. The attachment they now profess towards the schismatic Tsar, they had previously displayed towards the Catholic Cæsar of Vienna, when Austria, not Russia, took the lead in the East. The Latin republic of Venice likewise possessed the full friendship of the Montenegrins, who thus proved to the world that they are wrongly accused of making religion paramount over political interests.

The support which the Russian cabinet affords to Servia and Montenegro does not argue a belief that the inhabitants of those countries will voluntarily put themselves under its dominion. The Montenegrins are very useful to it even in a state of independence. Though Russia should occupy Constantinople, she could not expect to possess all Turkey in Europe as far as the Adriatic; it will always therefore be a matter of great moment for her that there exist on that sea an independent state which may paralyze the movements of Austria and hold back the German race from overspreading the Peninsula. The mere existence of the Montenegrins, even though they were not well inclined towards Russia, is still advantageous to that power by the diversion thereby caused among its natural rivals. The Tsar, therefore, must always oppose the destruction of the Montenegrin state. That would moreover be a very difficult enterprise even for a European army, which would find there neither quarters nor food for man or beast, nor in most of the valleys even water; whilst its lightest artillery, even that carried on horseback, would compel it to halt almost at every step.

Austria is the only continental power that could have any motive for attempting such a war. She is always alarmed about Cattaro, which the Montenegrins claim as their patrimony, though it has not been in their possession since 1443. Certainly it must be a galling thing for the Montenegrins to behold the sea everywhere bathing the foot of their mountain, and yet not be able to reach it, especially when that sea is the Adriatic, whose delightful coast produces the fig and the orange, the vine and the olive. The admirable port of Cattaro, with three vast basins which communicate together by channels easy to defend, and which are so deep that the

largest line of battle ships can float in them close to shore, would be filled with merchant vessels if it was in the hands of an independent people. But Austria, in pursuance of the policy by which she persists in having a German head while almost her whole body is Slavonic, has sacrificed Ragusa and Cattaro to the unsafe port of Trieste, and several of her finest provinces are left neglected. If we trace the sinuous Austro-Turkish frontier, which with all its windings measures 230 leagues, whilst the straight line would be but ninety, we cannot but commiserate nations thus arbitrarily delimited like herds of cattle. The Montenegrin country is within a gunshot of the sea near Cattaro; but a long and severe quarantine virtually magnifies that distance into several hundred leagues. Yet the sea is the only commercial outlet of the mountain. We may, therefore, well conceive that the mountaineers cannot look with pleasure on such a position of things, and that in order to escape from it they would be almost as ready to attack the Austrians as the Turks. Austria has, therefore, reason to watch with a jealous eye this people, who, once master of any maritime point whatever, would immediately become formidable to the commerce of Trieste.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BULGARIANS.

The representatives of the ancient Bulgarian nation, who now number four and a half millions, are dispersed over that wide territory which extends from the Danube below Kladovo, and from the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora, and the Ægean, into Albania and modern Greece. Their race far outspreads the official limits of Bulgaria, to which geographers persist in assigning for boundaries, Thrace, Macedonia, and Albania, three provinces which now abound with Bulgarians. In Macedonia they form the bulk of the

population, for Serb and Bulgarian are spoken there in all the districts of the south-west, from the line of mountains situated between Kailari, Shatitsa, Ostrovo, and Verria, to the valleys of Niansta and Vodena; southward only of that line the Macedonian peasant is a Greek. A short strip of the Ægean coast belongs exclusively to Bulgarian families, who there occupy the small towns of Buyuk-Betchik, Bazar Djedid, and Sidero Kaiesh. The great town of Salonica has a mixed Bulgarian and Greek population. In the pastoral wilderness of Thrace, formerly occupied only by Turkish herdsmen, Bulgarian agriculturists are constantly establishing themselves, and even close to Constantinople others of the race form the majority of the inhabitants of Indjig, a small manufacturing town. There are whole districts in Eastern Albania where the only current language is Bulgarian. In Livadia, and even in the Morea, where the natives, concentrated in the towns and on the coasts, have long abandoned the valleys to emigrants from the mountains, the Bulgarian displays the characteristic tendency of the Slaves, to colonise the land, in contrast with the maritime inclinations of the Greek. In short, the Bulgarian is the most numerous and widely spread of all the races in Turkey in Europe, not excepting even the Greeks.

Why then is the name of Bulgaria restricted to so small a territory? Because it was a part of the crafty policy of the Turkish conquerors to break down the distinct nationalities of the vanquished, and entangle them indistinguishably, by means of arbitrary changes in their territorial limits. The Turks did with their empire what the Tsar is now doing in Poland; that vast country, which comprised so many provinces, has been so reduced, by dint of mutilations, as to be in the eyes of the Russians only a *gubernie* or province.

It must not, however, be supposed that all the districts in which Bulgarian is spoken tend to form one united body: several of them have interests so closely united with those of the Hellenes, that no attempt to disunite them could be prudently made. A large portion of the rayahs of Thrace, for instance, will always attach themselves to the Greeks of Constantinople. Even under the Lower Empire, when the Bulgarians had a powerful kingdom of their own, those of Thrace had connected themselves with the masters of the

Bosphorus, paid them tribute, and were comprised under the generic name of *Romei* (Rumeliotes), common to all the Greeks.

The Bulgarians are easily induced to emigrate: they are found in many remote districts, such as Servia and Walachia, completely separated from their mother country. Notwithstanding this, they manifest a great repugnance to coalesce with and be absorded into another nation. When the Russians recrossed the Danube, after their campaign of 1829, they took with them nearly thirty thousand of the Bulgarian rayahs, who had most reason to apprehend the vengeance of the Turks, and assigned them fertile lands along the Dnieper. The Russians themselves confess that these Slaves could not acquiesce under the Muscovite regime, and by degrees they all returned to Turkey.

We may distinguish two Bulgarias—the one north of the Balkan, the other south of that line; the former inclined towards the Danube, the latter towards the sea of Marmora, and the northern part of the Ægean. The northern Bulgarians speak a dialect akin to the Russian; they have retained much more of the Tatar habits than their southern brethren, and have consequently furnished far more adepts to Islam. They are less hospitable to strangers, more cringing towards the master caste; they speak with such volubility that their jerking utterance is almost unintelligible. The language of the southern Bulgarians, in which there is a strong admixture of Serb and Greek idioms, is on the other hand very smooth and harmonious. The difference between the people of these two regions is observable even in the children: those of the south approach the stranger with a smile; those of the north run away from him, and the word stranger, (*stranii tchelovek*), is in their mouths an insult.*

* "The Bulgarians are not, strictly speaking, Sclavonians but Tartars Sclavonized. They are of cognate origin with the Turks, and only lost their own language in the tenth century, when their conversion to Christianity induced that of the neighbouring Christian tribes; and they are neither so tall nor so fair as the Serbs and Bosnians. About one half of them are now Mahometans, each religion numbering nearly 2,000,000. They occupy a vast territory, consisting of the southern portion of the Danubian plain, stretching from the great river to the Balkan, and the broad plateau bounded on the east by the Sea of Marmora, on the south by the Ægean, and on the west by the Despoli mountains, formerly

It is a mistake, therefore, to regard Bulgaria as constituting only one great province; it has been divided by nature into five or six distinct regions, each of which has to this day a chief town of from thirty to fifty thousand inhabitants. These regions are the *Zagora* or transbalkan Bulgaria, with a mixed population of Mussulmans and Christians, the former predominating in numbers; the capital is Philipopoli or Philibeh;—the *Dobrouja*, the Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea, occupied by nomade hordes of Nogai Tatars, emigrants from the Crimea; the capital is Varna;—Danubian Bulgaria, capital, Widin;—Upper Bulgaria, in the centre, where, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, stands the ancient and holy city of Sophia, which is to its own nation what Moscow is to Russia:—lastly, Macedonian Bulgaria, which has Seres for its capital, and abuts on the Bay of Contessa and Mount Athos. Thus Bulgaria debouches on two seas; through Varna it is in commercial relation with Russia and Asia; through Seres and Salonica, with Greece and all the ports of southern Europe.

No part of the Ottoman Empire is so populous as Bulgaria; it abounds in villages which are seldom seen by the traveller, for they lie far off the main roads. The progress of agriculture, by clearing the face of the country, has doubtless rendered it less capable of defence by the inhabitants, and a war of partizans could not be so successfully waged there as in the Serb and Greek provinces. Bulgaria, however, bristles with mountains, the defiles of which would become impassable if only the inhabitants were unanimous in closing them against the enemy. The chief of these mountains, which form the ancient chain of Rhodope, rise more perpendicularly than the steepest peaks of the Alps. Ancient Greece regarded them as the highest summits in the world. They are tra-

Mount Rhodope, which separates Thrace from Macedonia. Extensive crops of wheat, maize, and cotton cover the rich alluvial soil on the low grounds, and vineyards clothe the slopes of the hills, whose higher levels are thickly wooded. Rice is also grown to the south of the Balkan, and numerous gardens and orchards attest the improvement of husbandry by the industrious inhabitants on both sides of the mountain range; for the hoe and plough form the delight of the Bulgarian, who differs as much in this respect from the Serb and Bosniac, as he does in his pacific and somewhat stolid intellect."—*The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk.* London, 1853.

versed by seven narrow passes, all of which were known to the ancients: the principal are Trajan's Gate, near Isladi; the Iron Gate before Ternovo, in the highest part of the chain; and that of Shumla, beyond Aïdos. These are the true gates of Stamboul; and thus the safety of the Turkish capital depends, on the land side, on the good pleasure of the shepherds of the Balkan.

In spite of its numerous mountains, and the snows that lie upon them in winter, Bulgaria is one of the most fertile countries in Europe. The mountains are clothed with humus up to their summits. Between their vertical and cloud-capped peaks lie meadows, the path to which lies through forests of cherry, plumb, and walnut trees, of majestic foliage, and filbert trees as large as oaks. The metallic wealth of these mountains is attested by the spangles of silver and gold swept down by the torrents. But the only notable branches of industry among the Bulgarians are the manufacture of coarse cloths and of otto of roses; the Armenians, however, have contrived to secure a monopoly of the latter, and thus to defraud the Bulgarians of the large profit they ought to derive from that lucrative article.

Struck only by the agricultural activity of the Bulgarian, and forgetting the extortions under which he groans, some English tourists have represented that part of the empire as an earthly paradise, flowing with milk and honey. The reality is very different. Nothing is more like a group of savages' huts than a *celo* or Bulgarian village. Always remote from the high road, or from the waste space to which that name is given, and consequently invisible to most travellers, the *celo* usually stands in a meadow along the border of a stream, which serves it for a ditch and natural defence. These villages are very numerous, succeeding each other almost from league to league. Each consists of four or five courts or groups of houses, separated from each other by grass-grown spaces. The courts, surrounded by a thick hedge, are like so many islands in a sea of verdure. The huts composing one of them are almost always ten or twelve in number, and are either formed of wattles, so as to resemble great baskets, or are sunk in the ground and covered with a conical roof of thatch or of branches of trees. Each species of creature has its own separate abode in this ark of the wilderness;

there are huts for the poultry, for the sheep, for the pigs, for the oxen, and for the horses; and in the midst the proprietor occupies a cabin, which serves him for cellar, granary, kitchen, and bedroom. The family sleep on skins spread on the ground round the hearth, which is a circular hole sunk in the middle of the room. Little more than the roof of these dark dwellings rises above the ground. You descend into them by a short flight of steps, and the doors are so low that you must stoop as you enter them. Nevertheless, these poor huts are as clean and as neatly arranged inside as they can be made by the indefatigable *baba* (Bulgarian housewife) to whom employment is so necessary that she plies her spindle even whilst cooking or carrying her goods to market. The melancholy stork usually perches upon these conical huts, as upon the chimney of the Polish peasant, standing on his long shanks, and brooding over his big nest for whole days without giving token of his existence by the least movement or the least cry; this sacred bird of the East is one of the most striking symbols of Asiatic civilization.

Formidable as were the Bulgarians in early mediæval times through their warlike tendencies, their wealth and their commercial activity, when the ambitious Tatar race occupied the national throne, they are now perhaps the least luxurious and the most pacific people in Europe. All who know the Bulgarian are unanimous in praise of his peaceful virtues, his good natured readiness to oblige, his assiduity in labour, and his extreme frugality. He never acts without deliberation, but once his mind is made up he displays in all his enterprises a prodigious perseverance, which, seconded by his athletic strength, makes him encounter the greatest dangers coolly and without boasting. Though he is the most oppressed of the five people of the Peninsula, penury has not made him vile; still as of yore his bearing is manly, his figure tall and comely, his honour invincible; you may safely entrust to him any sum of money without witnesses; he will carry it safely to its destination. He is accused of trembling before the Turk; he does not tremble, but when all resistance is impossible, he submits in silence, like any reasonable man.

The Bulgarian women are gentle, compassionate, and labo-

rious. The motherly and sisterly care they bestow on the stranger-guest in their cabins, is really affecting. Their demeanour towards him is marked with the perfect confidence of innocence, for their virtue has no need of the precautions which are elsewhere necessary. He sleeps on the same floor with the mother, the wife, and the daughters of the household. They are, next to the Greeks, the handsomest women in European Turkey, and are especially remarkable for the length and luxuriance of their hair, with which they could literally cover themselves as with a garment; it often sweeps the ground below their feet. The young girls let their tresses flow loosely, and their only head-dress is a wreath of flowers, or a single rose. Those whose charms are on the wane, adorn themselves with necklaces and bracelets of glass beads, a girdle of copper gilt, and an ugly head-piece, in the form of a helmet, festooned with strings of piastres, paras, and ancient medals dug up in the fields.

The Bulgarian retains many traits of his Tatar origin, such as the shaven head with one thick tuft on the crown, which he divides into two tresses. Like the son of the Steppes, he is inseparable from his horse. In the country parts every Bulgarian—the very poorest not excepted—is mounted, and never goes even a few hundred yards from his cabin, except on horseback. Skulls of horses or buffaloes, are planted on stakes in front of his dwelling, as a symbol apparently of a prosperous condition. The Bulgarian and the Turk, though living in the same country, clothe themselves quite differently. The Turk came from the south, and he wears loose garments of linen or cotton; the Bulgarian on the contrary, being a son of the north, is always warmly clad, even in summer. His costume is the same as that of his ancestors on the cold plateaux of northern Asia. His short capote, with or without sleeves, the thick bands with which he swathes his legs, his trowsers, his tunic and his broad belt, are all woollen.

The frugality of this people is inconceivable, and they enjoy a singular vigour of temperament. A Bulgarian, on a journey, will live for three weeks on the stock of bread and the bottle of raki he has taken with him, and he will carry home the whole of his earnings without expending a para. On his

caravan expeditions he sometimes indulges the spirit of luxury so far as to add to his provisions some pieces of meat dried slowly in the sun, till they become as hard as a stone without losing their nutritive juices. Meat preserved in this way may he kept for a quarter of a century, without undergoing any change. At home the usual diet of the Bulgarian, as of the Greek, consists of dairy produce, pulse, olives, and maize bread; his ordinary drink is water, with which, too, he cures all his disorders; wine he reserves for holidays. Such is his indifference to all the comforts of life that he does not even think of protecting himself in winter from the intense cold, or in summer, from the overpowering heat. Families are to be seen sleeping outside their cabins, exposed to the cold winds of the autumn mornings, on the carpets that served them for beds among the flowers of May!

The simplicity of the Bulgarian's habits exempts him from many of the maladies to which the dominant caste are victims. The plague spares the Bulgarian Christians who take precautions against it, while it carries off the Mussulman fatalists. Every great plague takes from Turkey nearly a million of inhabitants. That of 1838 was fatal in Bulgaria alone to 86,000 persons, nearly all Turks; of that number of victims the cities of Sophia and Philipopoli contributed 29,000. Selvi, a town of 8,000 inhabitants, lost its whole population. The rural Bulgarians, like the Hebrews during the seven plagues of Egypt, enjoyed uninterrupted good health throughout that fatal period.

In general the peasant of the Balkans supplies all his own wants; like the Serb and the Russian muzhik he is independent of all external aid, except that of the priest, before whom he always falls on his knees. "Do not look that way, brother! Do you not see it is a Mussulman temple?" said a *baba*, who beheld me with indignation contemplating a mosque. To mark the simplicity of these people, I will only mention one fact. During the first months of my sojourn amongst them, my answer to their constant question whence I came, was: "From Frankistan (Europe)."—"You are happy, brother," they exclaimed; "there are none but Bulgarians in your country."—"Bulgarians! I never saw a single one there."—"What! no Bulgarians in the country of the

Franks! And what are you—are you not a Bulgarian?"—"Not at all." When I said this, they hung their heads sadly, and uttered not a word. It was not until after many repetitions of this dialogue I became aware that, to their minds, the name of Bulgarian is signifiant of all the Christian nations in contradistinction to those of Islam.

CHAPTER VIII.

SURVEY OF THE FIVE PROVINCES OF BULGARIA.

Every Oriental people has its sacred river, which forms the central line of the country it occupies. Thus the Bulgarian colonies slowly followed the course of the Maritsa, the most considerable river of European Turkey, the longest, with the exception of the Macedonian Vardar, and one which, falling into the Ægean sea, indicates to the nation its natural alliances and outports. Let us proceed first towards the Maritsa. We set out from Constantinople with no other escort than a Bulgarian guide, and put ourselves at the mercy of the haiduks, who beset the defiles. Ten *kavasses* (Turkish police soldiers) could not be a more efficient protection among those generous brigands than a single guide of their own race. At six leagues from the capital we come to the little town of Kambourgas, and pass a bridge of remarkable length, thrown over an arm of the sea. Almost all the towns of the coast present similar monuments, last relics of the ancient Byzantine wealth; originally constructed of granite, or sometimes of white marble, they are repaired with wood when they fall. Such is the history of all Turkish renovations. Six leagues further on is the small port of Silivria, with a purely Christian population of three or four thousand, many of whom are Bulgarians. Thus, within a few leagues of Stamboul, the ear begins to be greeted by the

soft rich accents of the Slavonian tongue. There is still standing a part of the old citadel of Silivria, a quadrangular battlemented building, with ramparts of stone and large red bricks. It is inhabited by Jews. A league further antiquaries grope for the remains of the wall erected by the Emperor Anastasius, against the incursions of the ancient Bulgarians. Rodosto, with its forty thousand inhabitants, and Callipoli, with its thirty thousand, are wholly Greek towns; but in Karakioï and Ruskioï we again meet with Bulgarians. At last we come to the gulph of Enos, into which the Hebrus disembogues itself through marshes, from which it seems to have derived its modern name of Maritsa.

Let us now ascend the course of this river, which will conduct us into the heart of Bulgaria, to its sacred mountain, the Rilo. At the fortress of Dimotica, famous of yore in the wars between the Greeks and Bulgarians, begins the ancient province of Zagora, where the Bulgarians established themselves in the ninth century, and which extends all across Thrace, skirting the southern base of the Balkan, from the Black Sea to the gulph of Kavala, opposite Mount Athos. In this region was accomplished the incorporation of the tribes of Thrace with the first Slave tribes, the union of Scythia with Greece; it has deep mysteries to reveal to historical science, and yet it is, perhaps, the least explored part of Europe.

I rejoiced to tread at last this *terra incognita*, as Maltebrun calls it, towards which I had long been attracted by an ardent desire to study the origins of Slavonism. But how useless it is to seek there for monuments. The Turks have swept it clean of all the treasures of Slave archeology, literature, and national history. I ride over desert plateaux, with nothing to arrest my attention but the beauty of the landscape. One might fancy himself in the heart of Arabia when traversing the portions of Rumelia in which the Turkish race predominates. To secure wide pastures, and a more open space for their courses on horseback, the Osmanlis have felled all the trees; and the minarets of the mosques are the only objects that stand in relief against the naked mountain sides. The only human monuments visible are tombs, of which there are two kinds: the sepulchral chapels of the conquerors, and the tumuli of the ancient Bulgarian chiefs,

sometimes crowned with modern Ottoman sepulchres, like those of the valley of Gomela Voda, between Selinigrad and Tern. These conical mounds occur in prodigious numbers in the plains; the Turk calls them *tepeh*, the Bulgarian *hunka* (abode of the Hun). Their height is from ten to fifty feet. Their exact resemblance to those on the banks of the Volga, and to the Pelasgic tumuli of the Troad and Asia Minor, clearly exemplifies the fact, that all nations have at the same stage of social development the same artistic conceptions. At Bazarjik and at Philibeh, in the valley of Samokov, there are a great number of these mysterious monuments, and in many places they stretch along the road in pretty regular lines. There are twenty-four of them round Sophia, and others near Eski Sagra and Shumla, in the valleys of Doubnitsa and of the Rilo.* If you ask the Bulgarians who raised those mounds, they answer, "Our fathers' hands."—"For what purpose?"—"God knows." This is the reply of every Bulgarian peasant, who, knowing nothing, does not care to know even what relates to his own country. The Turks, more ambitious, though not less ignorant, allege that these mounds are posts of observation, on which were set up the horsetail standards of their camps. Thus the victor seeks to rob the vanquished even of the memory of their fathers' tombs.

I searched through all Bulgaria for traces of the lion crowned with gold, the armorial bearing of its kings, but could find no vestige of it either in the old churches, or on the gates or walls of the towns, so thorough has been the work of destruction in those regions. Even where the Bulgarian cultivates the land it yet seems a desert, not indeed of sand as in Asia, but a desert of verdure, a poetic desert, in which one would willingly pass years among those simple men, studying their ways, contemplating their antique dances, and living with them that primitive life which has disappeared from the rest of Europe. The traveller, however, who is fond of comfort, will do well to avoid these wildernesses, and remain in the towns, where he will find

* These are not to be confounded with other hillocks from four to six feet high, which are also common in Rumelia, and are always placed in pairs on either side of the road at regular intervals of a good quarter of a league. They served instead of milestones.

everything in abundance and exceedingly cheap: coffee-houses, warm baths, fruits, liqueurs, and all sorts of *comestibles*, including those sacred viands of Islam slowly confectioned in sugar and honey, which an angel revealed to Abraham. A multitude of other fine things are to be had at the *tcharshia*, as the natives call the bazaar, from the Slavon word *tcharshit*, to enchant, thereby indicating the impression made upon them by that temple of the arts of luxury. But the moment the traveller turns his back on the towns he is again reduced to fare on cooked olives, dates, raisins, and water melons; wine and raki are the only things never wanting in the hut of any Bulgarian.

The distance by the most direct road from Stamboul to Philibeh, the chief town of Zagora, is eighty leagues. The whole way lies through one vast prairie, peopled almost solely by cattle, and dotted at intervals with wells for watering them and with the huts of their keepers. In the midst of the prairie towers the great *Edreneh* (Adrianople), the capital of this pastoral people. Until that populous city is passed, almost the only representatives of the Bulgarian nation met with on the banks of its river are herdsmen and *mehandji*, so called inn-keepers who rent their miserable cabins of the Spahis; but a few leagues higher up the Maritsa Slave villages begin to show themselves. Here and there you still meet with imperial caravanserais with ranges of wooden stalls against their walls. These form the small trading towns called *varoshitsa* in Bulgaria. These gigantic monuments of past splendour are almost all alike. In the centre is the mosque surrounded with several square courts adorned with Moorish arches, and with fountains playing in their midst. Behind these courts and opening on them are small rooms in which all travellers, giaours and believers, are lodged gratuitously. Of these sumptuous Moslem hotels the most considerable between Edreneh and Philibeh is that of Musta Pacha; its mosque, of recent construction, raised upon a terrace ascended by flights of steps, and supported by light arches and open galleries, is a chef-d'œuvre of grace and good taste. The Maritsa washes its walls. Six leagues further on we strike that river again before the caravanserai of Ismenli. The stable of that edifice is in itself a monument. It is built of red bricks; its

pointed roof rises to a remarkable height, and along the whole length run two upper galleries flanked with cells, from which the camel drivers can look down on their beasts resting below. At both ends of the building are three very large circular windows with Greek arabesques, a striking feature of the ancient basilic transferred to a Moslem edifice.

Near Philibeh the plain begins to show a few groups of trees, and the Bulgarian husbandman takes the place of the Turkish herdsman on the banks of the river. The increasing numbers of that laborious population is particularly indicated to the traveller by the continuous diminution in the cost of the necesaries of life.

On entering Philibeh, the capital of Zagora, one is struck by the magnificence of its situation both in a picturesque and a commercial point of view. It rises in the form of an amphitheatre from the bank of the Maritsa, which washes the new quarters, to the old town which surrounds the *grad* or fortress built by the Byzantines on a steep rock. Fragments of Greek walls are still discernible in the grad; and in the lower town, too, it is not uncommon to see handsome capitals placed for mounting-blocks at the gates of the khans. The tcharshia, enclosed with gates, is just as in all Bulgarian towns a labyrinth of streets covered over with planks, with openings which admit a feeble light upon the ranges of shops in which thousands of Christian and Turk merchants are packed together. The play of fountains gives some freshness to the air of these otherwise ill-ventilated streets. There are also small mosques adorned on the outside with painted palms, where the Moslems pray at the five stated hours of the day. The Turkish cathedral or Mosque of Friday,* built in the form of a Greek cross, is probably an old church which the victors have surrounded with a great peristyle in the oriental fashion. The *nation*† of the Paulianists occupy exclusively a large quarter of the town. The Jews, in like manner, have their separate quarter, near that of the Greeks and its humble cathedral. These Jews, who like most of those in Turkey, are from Spain, are handsome

* Friday is the Mohammedan Sabbath.

† The term applied in the country to a religious community. The Paulianists are Bulgarians who have become united to the Church of Rome, but retain some vestiges of the Greek ritual.

men with very fair complexions and long black beards; their women are remarkable for their beauty, which is set off by the somewhat quaint magnificence of their apparel. The various races assembled in Philibeh have not only their distinct quarters but their respective costumes and colours. Even the colouring of the houses is conventional. Until lately none but the houses of the Turks could be coloured red: those of the rayahs were to be of a dull and sombre tint like the destinies of their owners. Gray garments are still the appanage of the Bulgarian; while the Turkish dandies, who abound in Philibeh, now exult in their frock coats and white trousers, below which they display through their open shoes the naked feet of the Tatar.

Philibeh has not more than 40,000 inhabitants, notwithstanding its thriving woollen manufactures and its transit trade, which is so active as to have called forth an institution as yet unknown to any other town of European Turkey; namely, a regular communication with Edreneh and Bazardjik by carriages, without springs, alas! and in which one must sit cross-legged. The Greek tsintars are, perhaps, more numerous than the Bulgarians in Philibeh, and their language is taught in all the Christian schools. The Greeks are well aware of the commercial capabilities of the place, which will become the chief point of departure for the exports of Bulgaria as soon as the Maritsa shall have been rendered navigable as far as Enos. Unfortunately the river is obstructed by sandbanks so as to be navigable at present only by flat-bottomed boats. Moreover, the long sweep made by its waters round the base of Mount Rhodope is a great disadvantage for Philibeh, though but for that bend the river of the Bulgarians would not pass by Adrianople nor receive into it the principal torrents of Thrace, the Arda (*Harpessus*), the Usundsha, and the Tcherna.

The Turks are still numerous enough in Philibeh, and the town is always classed as belonging to the Ottoman districts; but Bazardjik, eight leagues further on in the Balkan, is purely Bulgarian. Between it and Philibeh lies a long sandy plain, an exact image of the Tatar Steppes, without human habitations, and roamed over by herds of horses that browse on its scanty herbage. Bazardjik is a very commercial town of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. They were

the first rayahs who obtained by dint of gold from Sultan Mahmoud a firman authorising them to build a new church in contravention of the laws of Islamism. It is a large and handsome building in the style of the primitive basilics, and it stands in a square enclosure, the high walls of which conceal it from the eyes of the Pachas who might be irritated by such a sight. Its erection has been followed by that of several others in different parts of Bulgaria.

Above Bazardjik begins the Balkan. Two principal *gates* afford passage through those natural ramparts: Trajan's Gate, and the Iron Gate, the one leading to Sophia and the Danubian valleys, the other to Varna and the Black Sea by Kasanlik and Shumla. These passes mark the northern limits of the Zagora, which has no precise limits on the south, and extends in that direction almost daily; its agricultural population inundating the Mussulman part of Rumelia, where the indolent Spahi, too proud to till the rich soil, farms it out to them at low rates. Nor is it only in the rural districts that the Christian Slaves are encroaching on the Ottoman race; the Turkish towns of Thrace, are gradually filling with Bulgarians. In Slivno, the ancient Selymnia, they make 4000 of the 12,000 inhabitants; they swarm as workmen in the factories of Eski Sagra, a city of 20,000 souls; they throng the markets of Kirk-Kilisseh (the forty churches), a confused mass of ruined houses, whither they bring their butter and cheese, which the German Jews of that ancient town buy up to sell at Constantinople. The whole district of Kasanlik, which might be called the land of roses, the plain is so covered with them, is cultivated chiefly by Bulgarians. They are also found mixed with the Turks in all the valleys adjacent to the great port of Bourgas, and thence they spread, if not as farmers at least as labourers along the low chain of the Strandja, an offshoot from Hœmus, which separates the interior plateau of Thrace from the coasts of the Black Sea and seminates in the forests of Belgrade.

Near Aïdos is the most convenient passage for crossing the Balkan and reaching maritime and northern Bulgaria. The town of Aïdos, formerly renowned for its warm baths, but now fallen from its old prosperity, stands in a delightful basin, surrounded on three sides by mountains so abrupt

that there appears no possibility of ascending them ; it is only when we reach the foot of that rampart that we suddenly see opening as if by magic a deep gorge, down which plunges the torrent of Buyuk Kamentsi (the rocky river). A tortuous path leads along the side of the boiling stream through one of the strongest defiles in Europe. Its two walls are perpendicular, leave but a narrow strip of sky visible between them, and are crowned with pine trees, which seen from below look like blades of grass. The path through the ravine seems at first to descend towards the bowels of the earth, and then it rises by degrees until it reaches the pretty plateau of Lopenitsa, where there is a khan marking the halfway ascent of this Bulgarian Mont Cenis. All around are Alpine cataracts and moss-covered rocks ; snow is never found there in summer ; but *en revanche* you run the risk of encountering avalanches of stones.

Beyond Lopenitsa the path begins to descend, and again accompanies the foaming Buyuk Kamentsi, which had been lost in the caverns of the mountains, and now emerges from its subterranean channel. The defile, nine leagues long, abuts upon another Balkan still more vertical and inaccessible than the first. Nevertheless it was crossed by the army of Nicholas, and long before it by that of Darius. All trace of the Persians is effaced, whilst the Russian trenches with which all these gorges are beset, remain as imposing testimonies of the daring of the modern Normans. The towns also bear marks of their horrible ravages : Hirsova, for instance, is reduced to thirty houses, and the port of Kostendshe to forty inhabitants.

Whilst still in the heart of the mountains you suddenly descry at your feet the great town of Shumla, and the vast plain which stretches thence to the Black Sea and to Moldavia, or rather which has no limits, for it is already the beginning of the Steppes. At Shumla rests in a suberb mausoleum the last Grand Vizier who was victorious over the Russians, the celebrated Hassan Pacha, who died during the wars with the Empress Catherine. With all the advantages of its charming and formidable position, which connects all the Danubian routes together as a central point, Shumla was fifty years ago but an insignificant place ; it now contains 60,000 inhabitants. The *grad*, the *varosh*, and the

palanka of Shumla are only built of wood. The citadel alone was flanked in 1836 with walls of cut stone, and was furnished by the Prussian engineers with casemates, glacis, and gates. They also erected two very large barracks at the foot of the rock, whence the water of numerous fountains flows into the highest apartments.*

The *grad* is occupied only by Turks to the number of more than 30,000. It is full of rich mosques with leaden cupolas that shine like silver. The *varosh* contains 5000 or 6000 Bulgarians; the rest of the population consists of Armenians, Greeks and Jews; each nation has its streets and its places of worship apart from the rest. In all the campaigns against Austria and Russia, Shumla has served as an entrenched camp for the Turks, who are invincible when they fight under a redoubt. Here they routed the army of Romanzof in 1774. Shumla is still the principal fortress of European Turkey, and the key of Stamboul on the north. Unfortunately the palanka with its immense labyrinth of batteries and fortifications in earth work, is girt by such extensive contravallations that it would require a garrison of 50,000 men to defend them in a siege.

The fortress of Varna, eighteen leagues from Shumla, though much less imposing, is, perhaps, better secured against the chances of a siege, in consequence of the steepness of its position which is not commanded from any quarter; but it has not been completely repaired since it was ruined by the Turkish bombs in 1829. Its new and extensive barracks are still protected only by wooden parapets. The Turks know well that this place is not of the same strategic importance as Shumla: that its capture does not infer the free passage of the Balkans, and can serve at most to cover the retreat of the enemy. The sole and inalienable advantage of Varna consists in its being the principal seaport of the Bulgarians. Sheltered from the winds of the north and the east, its vast deep roadstead is so safe that vessels never have any difficulty in entering it even in winter. The largest vessels can moor there in from ten to fifteen fathoms, in the cove of Sokhanlik, whilst shallow vessels find moorings of five fathoms southward of the town. The great defect of this natural harbour is that it has too wide an inlet, which

* Shumla has been elaborately fortified this year by Omer Pacha.

cannot be closed or effectually defended against an enemy's fleet. But the Bulgarians do not aspire to fight by sea; and if they only recovered the humblest political existence, they would possess a fruitful source of wealth in this mercantile port so near Constantinople, Trebizond, and Odessa. No one can walk through the dockyards of Varna without admiring the dexterity of this people in their new maritime avocations.

Since it was sacked by the Russians, Varna has been but a jumble of 8000 huts, giving shelter to barely 25,000 inhabitants. All the wealthy Bulgarians have been forced to quit the place, after being fleeced by those whom they had called their liberators. Russia would not suffer Varna to rival Odessa; consequently this fine coast was the most severely ravaged part of all Bulgaria.

North of Varna extends the vast marshy plain known by the name of Dobroudja. It is a steppe with low hills, without trees, but covered with grass which is sometimes so high that the traveller might be lost in it. The Dobroudji, a sort of Bulgarian Cossacks, always on horseback and spending their whole lives in the pastures, have given their name to these coasts. They are the least pure-blooded of all the Bulgarian tribes, having mingled their race with that of the Nogai Tatars, who reigned in those regions until the eighteenth century.

Two roads run from Varna to the Danube, the one towards Silistria or Wallachia, the other along the Black Sea towards Moldavia. On this latter road, near Kavarna, between Tcherna Voda and Kostendche, are some remains of the wall and ditch constructed by Trajan across the isthmus, south of the lakes of Kara Sou. The rocky chain of the Babadag crosses these marshy lakes, and by forcing the Danube out of its southern course towards the Pruth, renders its embouchure tributary to the Russians. After passing that chain we come to Matchin, and then to Mokrova, the point of embarkation for Galats. There slumbers, like a vast lake, the only river in Europe which rivals the gigantic streams of Asia and America. From this point it divides and creeps along through the sands, till it empties itself into the sea, like the Nile, by seven mouths, none of which, unfortunately, are deep enough for large vessels. The Sulina branch itself,

having but a depth of twelve feet on the bar, is inaccessible for ships of war.

Nowhere in the world, perhaps, is there a frontier so strongly marked as that which separates the Bulgarians from the Moldo-Wallachians. The large and numerous islands of the Danube are completely uninhabited, in accordance with express stipulations made in treaties. The whole space between Shumla and Sulina might be compared to those vast savannahs of America, which are destined to serve as battle-fields for savage tribes, who never meet there but with arms in their hands.

The choking up of the Danube with sand, and the devastation of the Dobroudja, force the Bulgarian traffic to pursue a land route. It is through the most perilous defiles of the Balkan that the caravans convey the produce of Asia to the Danubian Bazaars of Silistria, Rushtchuk, Nikopoli and Widin, whence they pass into Germany. These four principal towns of Danubian Bulgaria were profusely fortified before the last campaign of the Russians; dismantled by them they are now but slowly rearing again their belts of wall after the European system. Nikopoli alone, perched on a lofty isolated rock, remains in the same state as before the war. Rushtchuk, with its immense *palanka*, seated like Nikopoli on a mountain, seems formidable only at a distance. This great town contains from 15,000 to 18,000 cabins, 7000 of which are occupied by Bulgarians, Armenians and Jews; it has numerous manufactories of woollens, muslins, and morocco leather. Giurgevo, which stretches along the other bank in the Wallachian marshes, is an important market for its productions.

The Bulgarians of the Danube who people the towns of which we have just spoken, have but faintly retained the original features of the national character. To find the true Bulgarian again we must strike into the mountains of the Pachalic of Widin, and follow the old road which leads from the ruined fort of Tchistov on the Danube to Ternovo.

That celebrated city is reduced to 10,000 inhabitants. It is situated on the slope of a mountain, amid vineyards, lindens, and wild fig-trees; it is washed by the Yantra, and commanded by a steep cone, between which and the city the only means of communication is an isthmus of rocks, so

narrow as only to afford space for an aqueduct and a small road. Surrounded by verdant abyses, Ternovo resembles Kiov, the holy city of the early Russians, in its delightful scenery: and Ternovo is the holy city of the Bulgarians; their last kings or *krals* resided within its walls. Unfortunately nothing remains of their palace, nor has the cathedral of the patriarchs had a better fate. The present metropolitan church can hardly be compared with a village chapel; the numerous convents on the adjacent hills are but miserable groups of cabins. Hardly so much as the memory remains of the powerful Ternovo of the middle ages, whose merchants and monks carried commerce and civilization into the heart of Muscovy. Nevertheless, until it has a successor on the Danube or the Maritsa, this city will remain an object of superstitious reverence for the poor Bulgarians. They make pilgrimages to it, and their songs still celebrate the *Sveta Horata* (sacred mountain), within whose mysterious forests abide propitious genii and the shades of the ancient kings.

The great city of Widin has supplanted Ternovo as the capital of Danubian Bulgaria. Its fetid bazaar, and its streets strewn with putrid carcases round which the vultures swarm, tell plainly that the majority of its 20,000 inhabitants are Mussulmans. Its citadel, which has always been of great importance for the empire of the East, has become tolerably strong, since its repairs according to the European system. It was lately the residence of the terrible Hussein, Pacha-Vizier, that is to say, supreme chief of all the Pachas of Bulgaria. The Turks are in the majority in this district, and husbandmen are accordingly kept aloof; cattle and their wild keepers alone have possession of the plain and the hills between Widin and Nissa. The large village of Belgradjik, hung like an eyrie in the midst of frightful precipices, is half way between those two towns. On the right the impetuous Timok rolls towards the Danube, and scoops out a deep ravine which separates Bulgaria from Servia.

All along this frontier, and extending into Albania, are seen *karaouls*, or large square huts like watch towers. They are erected on hills, and in each of them are stationed eight Turkish police soldiers, who live with their wives on the produce of the surrounding lands, and whose business it is to guard the roads. There is a very striking analogy between

these posts and the Cossack stations of the Polish and Caucasian lines. In Bulgaria, as in the Russian provinces, the establishment of these military lines proves the violent occupation of a conquered, but not completely subdued country.

From the half Serb city of Nisha a *drome*, or so called high road, leads to Sophia, and into central Bulgaria, the high balkans of which province are the refuge of haiduks. The way over the first of these balkans lies through gorges, where nothing is seen but heaps of shattered rocks and dark forests, in which two horses could hardly march abreast. The pass is guarded by the citadel of Ak-palanka, that is to say the white or impregnable fortress. On the outside it exhibits one of the most perfect types of the Byzantine castle: it is a quadrangular structure built with large cut stones, flanked with eight very lofty round towers, and with square battlemented ramparts. The single gate is defended by two rusty cannons, and the interior is nothing but a filthy maze of lanes winding between gardens enclosed with boards and huts, in which it is vain to look for doors or windows. There is not a creature to be seen in the streets of Ak-palanka; but the stench of the air gives sufficient evidence of the presence of Mussulman habitations. Such is the dismal state of isolation in which the masters of Bulgaria pass their lives. Upon the banks of the torrent which flows at the foot of the hill, stand mortuary chapels of Turkish heroes or saints. They are small square chambers, in which a lamp is suspended over the tomb, which is of wood and without ornament, like those of the Tatars and Muscovites; sometimes two chandeliers flank the platform of the tomb; and it is furnished with a vase, intended for the ablutions of the pilgrim or the iman who comes there to pray. The grated windows of the sepulchre looks on the highway, and a fountain usually issues from the walls to refresh the traveller.

Leaving on our left, in the mountains, the famous citadel of Pirot, or Jarkoï, and the town beneath it, containing from 6,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, we arrive at the village of Tsaribrod, through a long valley full of meadows, vineyards, and maize fields, and surrounded with arid rocks. The valley gradually enlarges, and the two chains of mountains break up into isolated cones with naked summits. The khans, frequent

enough in the first part of this road, become less so as we approach Sophia. Vast plateaux, consisting of the richest soil, serve only for pasture grounds. Contrary, however, to the usual habits of Turkish towns, the five or six leagues of country around Sophia are devoted to the cultivation of wheat and other crops. We must except, however, a league's breadth immediately round the town, which remains a perfect desert; not a tree, not a hedge breaks the drear monotony of this naked plain; only on the horizon a circle of balkans rears its granite cones, with the Vitch towering above all. Out of that majestic solitude which environs every Turkish encampment, the countless cupolas and minarets of the city shoot up suddenly as if by magic. From the point where the traveller first catches sight of Sophia, it is still an hour's journey to the city; and all the way he sees nothing on either hand but ranges of tombs and funeral columns with turbans for capitals. This stillness and loneliness in the approaches to a great city chill the soul, and make one think of the desolate Jerusalem of the prophets.

Here then is the sorry capital of a Christian nation that has been four hundred years enslaved. Even in its present degradation and wretchedness, Sophia is one of the first cities in Turkey. Before the last plague it numbered 50,000 inhabitants, not including the garrison. The entrance to it is by a low dilapidated wooden gate, and by a little Turkish bridge over the Isker, an affluent of the Danube, which runs in a very deep and almost dry rocky bed. If the Bulgarian kings held their court at Ternovo, the nation held theirs at Sophia, and majestic ruins remain to tell the fact. The remains of the old *entrepôt* for the goods conveyed by the Bulgarian caravans from Asia into Europe are as imposing as those of a Roman amphitheatre. They consist of a vast square, flanked by three superb ranges of vaulted galleries, placed one over the other. The upper arch has in part broken down, but the others, built of large masses of granite, are entire. Against this grand mart of the old oriental commerce, lean the wooden walls of the tcharshia, or modern bazaar. Three-fourths of the shops in this large quarter are occupied by Bulgarians, the rest by Armenians or Turks. There are also many rich Jews in Sophia.

Though built of unburnt bricks, the houses of the Bulga-

rians of Sophia denote a certain degree of opulence. Each is detached, and surrounded by a garden; the windows are barred like those of the Mussulman houses. Since the town has ceased to be the residence of the *begler-beg* (prince of princes), or governor-general, its fortifications are falling to ruin, its pallisades rotting, and its ditches gradually filling up; but its commerce continues to flourish.

Like every great oriental city, Sophia has retained seven privileged churches, which are served by fifteen or sixteen papas; not to mention the monks of more than twenty monasteries in the adjacent mountains. The cathedral is but a half-sunken crypt in a garden. The long-beared priests may be seen in a tchardak or circular pavilion near it, squatting on carpets after their offices, and smoking tchibouks like Turks. Below the sacred hill stands the rustic palace of the archbishop, looking like the humble dwelling of a parish priest.

The grand mosque of Sophia is really majestic both within and without, and may boldly be classed among the few *chefs d'œuvre* of oriental art which the traveller ought to visit. It is a Greek edifice, formerly devoted to Christian worship, and is called the Sophia, the name commonly given to Greeco-Slave cathedrals. The early Bulgarians so much admired this building, that they gave its name to the city in which it stands, and which had previously borne that of Sardica or Serdica.* The Bulgarians also call this city Triaditsa, a name which seems to be equivalent to that of Sophia: the Greco-Slave cathedrals in the middle ages having often been consecrated to the divine triad. As I was quitting the grand mosque, a Bulgarian came up to me and said, "That was once our church!" "And it will be so again," I replied, "*Da bog daï*" (God grant), said the man, at the same time hurrying off, for he saw a brilliant Turkish officer coming up on a horse caparisoned with gold. The proud spahi held an enormous umbrella over his head to screen him from the rays of the sun, after the manner of the degenerate dandies of the Ottoman race. Near the mosque are some stately ruins, perhaps those of a Bulgarian palace, converted by the victors into

* The name is perhaps derived from the Slavon *serdce*, heart, or centre of the country, if it is true that in the times of Alexander and Cæsar the Illyrians of these mountains were already Proto-Slaves.

their grand caravanserai. Over its gigantic portal are still to be seen globes, roses, stars, branches with their fruit, and an escutcheon bearing three apples united.

Intersected in all directions by precipitous chains, overtopped by the famous Mount Rilo, the province of Sophia may be considered the natural fortress of Bulgaria. The Romans clearly perceived that this point might become one of the principal barriers of the West against the East, and they covered it with fortifications, the chief remnant of which is Trajan's gate (Kapoulou Derbend), on the confines of Zagora, near Ishtiman, between Sophia and Philibeh. Ousref Pacha demolished it in 1835. Amidst these mountains are found Kostendil, a ruined town with remains of towers, Samokov, with its iron works, and Doubnitsa with its old fortress, which is reputed to be impregnable, and serves as a place of refuge for the Turks of the province when the rayahs revolt. The present governor of this miserable fort is a Europeanised bey, whose rural konak resembles an Italian villa. The innumerable Turkish cemeteries, and the tombs of the pachas, surmounted with marble columns, which fill these wild and lonely defiles, tell plainly how much Mussulman blood has there been shed, and how little the Osmanli beys can boast of enjoying the delights of peace in such quarters. The roads are flanked with deserted iron and lead mines, and enormous heaps of ore lie along the beds of the torrents. The village of Krapets, between Sophia and Doubnitsa, is completely surrounded with iron ore, hardly concealed by the turf. The good people of this poor village sadly narrated to me, a Bulgarian of the west, who had come to visit my eastern brethren, a deplorable instance of Turkish cruelty, in the pillage of the monastery of Saint Paraskevia, which crowned the neighbouring mountain, and whence flows a stream whose miraculous water used to cure all diseases. They still go in secret to the ruins of the monastery, light candles by night on the spot where the altar stood, and drink from their patron's well; but the water has lost its virtue since its profanation.

In like manner almost all the torrents in Bulgaria have at their source a monastery, a hermitage hidden amid the rocks, the patron saint of which is their tutelary genius. In the higher balkans ruins of monastic arcades are often seen

overhanging the little lake, whence flows the stream that fertilizes the valley. One is suprised at the zeal displayed by the poorest communes in maintaining a number of small stone bridges over these torrents, even in the wildest solitudes. But as the rains of autumn or spring set in, all the roads and the bridges disappear under vast sheets of water. Woe to the traveller who is abroad during these periodical deluges. He must sometimes ride in the valleys for whole hours with water up to his saddle.

All the defiles of central Bulgaria abut on basins, watered by the streams of the Struma and the Kara Sou. These basins, within which lie the best cultivated lands of all Turkey in Europe, constitute the fifth and last Bulgarian province, now included in Macedonia, of which it forms the eastern part. We must be particular in distinguishing the part of Macedonia in which the Bulgarian Slaves dwell, from that to the north-west, which is inhabited by the Slaves of Serb origin. The pastoral Serb tribes are, moreover, separated from the Bulgarian husbandmen of eastern Macedonia, by the Greek populations that occupy the central and maritime parts of that great country. The agricultural Bulgarians, to the number of two or three hundred thousand, people the banks of the Kara Sou and the Struma, to where they empty themselves opposite the islands of Thasos and Samoth, race into that same Archipelago into which falls the Maritsa. Their chief town is Seres, the Serra of the ancient Greeks, a manufacturing town of about fifteen thousand inhabitants. Seres communicates with Sophia, by a road which is kept in surprisingly good condition, notwithstanding the ravages of the Struma, which it skirts in many places. If this small river were rendered navigable, and if the lake of Takinos or Orfano, through which it empties itself into the bay of Contessa, were converted into a little harbour for the export trade of Bulgarian Macedonia, those magnificent lands would soon be quadrupled in value.

So long as no effort is made to turn to account the natural wealth of this province, the population will have to submit to the hard consequences inevitably attendant on extreme destitution and total want of money.* Its tribes of reapers

* "Whatever quantity of grain a peasant may grow, he cannot avail himself of more than his family consumes, the expense of transport being

will be forced every year to spread over Rumelia, and gather the harvests there for the poorest pittance; its shepherds will have to hire out their brawny arms for thirty sous a month, and sell their best sheep for a few piastres; and, whilst the ignorance of the people remains as it is, the monks of Mount Athos will continue to reign over it in a manner the most exclusive, and contrary to all reason. What we here say of Bulgarian Macedonia is applicable, with some slight modifications, to the four other provinces. Suffering under the same wants, they need the same remedies.

CHAPTER IX.*

SOCIAL CONDITION OF BULGARIA.—THE HAIDUKS.

The ingenuous nature of the Bulgarian character has proved disastrous to the nation, which has fallen more completely than any of the other four Greco-Slave peoples under the law of the victor. Turkish domination reached its culminating point in Bulgaria. Like those puissant lords of the middle ages, who sometimes possessed castles all over the kingdom of which they were the grand dignitaries, and could travel from one frontier to the other without ever sleeping from under their own roofs, so the proud Ottomans established their lines of caravanserais in all directions, through-

greater than the value of grain at a shipping port, and no home market of any activity being possible, where almost everyone *grows* his own corn. There have even been instances of fine crops being set on fire in the fields of Bulgaria, to clear the ground for sowing, as the practice of storing wheat in holes dug for the purpose, which is prevalent here, offers no species of security."—*The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*, vol. ii. p. 411.

* The contents of this Chapter, originally published in 1844, represent the state of things which existed previously to the insurrections of 1849–51, and which was modified in consequence of those movements, as related in Chapter I.

out the provinces of subjugated Bulgaria. To this day there is hardly a Bulgarian commune without its Turkish Spahi or lord, who is usually an absentee, and leaves the management of his spahalik to a steward, who collects the tithes on corn, wine, fruit, and cattle, and exacts every year three days *robot* (duty labour), for cutting and carrying the Spahi's crops to the town. The master of the spahalik, without being noble, for nobility is prohibited by the Koran, nevertheless transmits his rights to his posterity, on the sole condition of mounting and going to the wars at the first summons of the Sultan. He seldom makes his appearance in his spahalik except in autumn, the season when the Turks, like the ancient Byzantines, retire to the country; he then takes up his abode in his white *koula*, a square wooden turret several stories high, with overhanging galleries, and a pavilion open on all sides, and affording an extensive view over the country. The easy temper of the Bulgarians often encourages the Spahis to inflict upon them the most odious vexations, sometimes even to carry off their women by force to make them their own concubines. In certain districts, such as that of Sophia, which is the freest in Bulgaria, in consequence of the vicinity of the Serbs, the peasants succeeded by their last revolts in obtaining the abolition of the tithes, and the removal of the Spahis; but then they fell under the yoke of the *subachis*, officers of the Pachas, who, covering the country with a net work of military posts, come down in armed force upon the peasants, levy taxes from them, and compel them to do service, labour in the fortifications, and elsewhere. Yet such is the moderation of the Bulgarians, that in 1840 they all spoke well of Seïd, the Pacha of Sophia. The Pacha, they said, has only one fault; he takes from us all the money he can; but he makes all his functionaries respect our honour and our women.

The Bulgarian's dues to the Spahi are quite distinct from those which he must pay to the Tsar, as he calls the Sultan. The latter are of two kinds, the one personal, the other incident to property. Every Bulgarian pays a poll-tax, varying from fifteen to twenty piastres a head: but as each commune apportions among its members the amount payable by it collectively, the rich often pay as much as a hundred piastres for *haratch* (poll-tax), and the poor are sometimes wholly ex-

empt from it. The reverse is the case with the *porese* (land-tax), which has been fixed once for all in the old cadasters of the Empire; and whereas some lands continually diminish and others increase in value, whilst the tax upon them remains unchanged, a poor family may have to pay a thousand piastres a year for lands that scarcely yield so much net revenue. No species of property escapes taxation; if the Bulgarian have but a wife he must pay for the usufruct of that sole possession.

But all these regular charges seem light in comparison with the unforeseen claims for labour on the public works, which every Pacha has a right to exact, and which usually cost every peasant more than thirty days' work in the year. A still worse vexation is the *gazdalik*, or obligation to provide lodging and food for all the guests (gazda) who travel with firmans, or on the Sultan's service. The head man of every village is bound to supply these requisites at the cost of the commune.

There is little to be said of the Bulgarian schools. All over the East education is in the hands of the clergy, and they are everywhere almost as ignorant as the people. The Turks, however, offer no impediment to the establishment of new schools. Every episcopal see in Bulgaria has its own, which usually adjoins the cathedral. In each of them a monk, assisted by some deacons, teaches the children writing, arithmetic, the catechism, and psalmody. Several of these schools, for instance those of Sophia and Kirk Kilisse, have adopted the system of mutual instruction. Business is conducted in them with great order. There is something military and at the same time monastic in the manner in which the children file in and out, with measured steps, and chanting Slavonic prayers. Thus does the Christian of the East become accustomed, from childhood, to confound together sacred and profane things, ecclesiastical and secular habits. Ottoman Macchiavelism strives with all its might to keep up this confusion which is so much to its own advantage; for by securing the support of the higher clergy by means of privileges and favours, the Porte enthrals, through priestly influence, whole peoples whom it could no longer control, if once they had learned to distinguish more clearly between civil and spiritual things. Regarding the clergy merely as

government tools, the Turks sell the dignities of the church to the highest bidder ; and the purchasers think of nothing but how they may reimburse themselves by squeezing as much money as possible out of their flocks. The prelate who has bought his see forces the *papas* to buy his benefice ; and the latter, if he has money enough, may be a pluralist to any extent he pleases. He may hold fifteen or twenty parishes as so many fat fields, the harvest of which is for him alone, and where no one can be baptised, married, or buried but by him. A certain sum, more or less, is paid the priest for each of these ceremonies, twenty piastres for a marriage, from twenty to fifty for a funeral ; everything has its price, even to holy water and confession.

Bulgaria numbers four archbishoprics, Ternovo, Sophia, Silistria, and Varna, and sixteen bishoprics, the chief of which are Philibeh, Kostendil, Seres, Verrhea, Lovits, Sarnokov, Kastoria, Kupreli, and Skopia. Those of Oshrida and Vidin have been abolished by the Porte. The Bulgarian hierarchy had formerly at its head a primate who acted as patriarch, and who, though deriving his investiture from the patriarch of Constantinople, was, in all other respects, perfectly independent. Even under the Turks, in 1463, he was still styled Patriarch of Ternovo and of all the Bulgarias. After a while the Sultan thought it a safer plan to have all those remote churches ruled by creatures of the Greek Patriarch, whom he kept under his own hand, and in constant fear of the bowstring. This religious centralization succeeded, and saved the Turks the trouble of effecting a political centralization. Ever since then there have been only Greek bishops in Bulgaria, indifferent to the wants and interests of the localities into which they come only to enrich themselves quickly, that they may go back and live among their own people. The majority of these prelates do not even know the language of the country. The inhabitants of Sophia, however, remark with some degree of pride, and as an innovation of good augury, that the present young Metropolitan of that see knows Bulgarian.

The enlightened men of the country clearly perceive that the clergy of Bulgaria, as at present constituted, are the greatest obstacle to its emancipation ; it is scarcely possible that a Bulgarian nationality can arise until there is a national

clergy. It may be said in answer to this, that all the inferior clergy and the monks are natives; true; but the episcopal thunders are ready to fall upon every Bulgarian priest who ventures to manifest his patriotism too plainly. Besides the Porte has won over to it the majority of these priests, by granting them a multitude of exemptions, of which a revolution—even a national revolution—would deprive them. Thus does the selfishness of a few thousand privileged persons retain four millions and a half in slavery,

Nearly all the Christians of the East are in the same position as the Bulgarians; with a few honourable exceptions they have no greater enemies of their nationality than their monks, who batten at their ease on the oppression of the people, and share with the Turk the wealth wrung from the Rayah. Hence the first step towards regeneration must be a reform of the clergy and the suppression of the shameful simonies of which that body is itself the victim, for the existing abuses enrich only the bishops or the principal monasteries, and are of very little advantage to the humble priests. The scandalous traffic in the sacraments is not sufficient to enable the parish priests to support their families, and they are obliged to eke out their scanty incomes by working in the fields like peasants or by other hand labour. In spite of this humiliation and his incredible ignorance, the papas is obeyed with blind submission by the Bulgarian: on the days he proclaims as fast days you might travel a hundred leagues in the rural districts without being able to purchase a glass of milk though you offered gold for it.

The Mussulmans never disguise the contempt with which they regard the Christian religion. In the places inhabited by Turks, the congregations in church take place as secretly as possible, for the spahis often take a cruel delight in breaking-in, and disturbing the service. In order to pray in more freedom on the great festivals, especially on St. George's Day, the majority of the population retire to some sequestered and not easily accessible monastery in the mountains, and remain for three days encamped under its walls. The village churches are for the most part wretched barns or obscure crypts. Old bells, cast before the Turkish conquest, are hidden in these dim retreats, and are only shown to friendly travellers. The Christians are absolutely forbidden to repair

any convent or church that threatens to tumble down, without *buyurdis*, or permits from the Divan, which cost exorbitant sums. When they cannot pay them, the Rayahs repair their temple in secret, choosing rather to incur the risk of the most atrocious punishments than to suffer them to fall to pieces.

The Bulgarians have lost, one after the other, the charters and privileges which the Porte had granted them in order to facilitate its seizure of the country; they are, therefore, quite at the mercy of the Pachas and the governors of fortresses; and hence their condition may vary greatly for better or worse from one pachalik to another. The Bulgarians of Rumelia are at present almost on a footing of equality with the Turks with whom they are mingled. They no longer dismount humbly from their saddles when an Ottoman passes—not though he were a Pacha. In consequence of their vicinity to Stamboul, they are wealthier than the rest of their countrymen; but their fiscal burthens are more severe, for the open country they inhabit makes it less easy for them than for their brethren in the mountains to evade the scrutiny of the tax-gatherer. To this, no doubt, is owing their generally grave and gloomy deportment; they seldom salute the traveller, or wish him good luck (*dobar stchast*), as does the Bulgarian of Macedonia, whose open countenance bespeaks his freedom from anxiety.

On the plateaux of the Balkan, between Seres and Sophia, Philibeh and Ternovo, the condition of the Bulgarians is very different; nowhere do they enjoy more complete independence. In those highlands, of which he is the sole inhabitant, the Bulgarian does pretty much as he pleases; he even sets up crosses on the roadsides, a religious manifestation which would be severely punished in the plain, and he covers the public fountains with Christian emblems and inscriptions, in his own language. There only he exhibits all the characteristics of the primitive mountaineer: vivacity, high spirit, exalted love of his race, a passion for the marvellous and for the heroic life. There behind his rocks the Bulgarian feels himself backed by a terrible force, that of the haiduks. There are few families of which some members are not haiduks or mountain brigands. The father of a family will tell you coolly, "the Pacha plundered me, and I

sent my son to the haiduks." As soon as a family has several of its members thus disposed of, extortion keeps aloof from it, and the Turks themselves beware of molesting it, for it might avenge itself. These haiduks are divided into more or less numerous bands, under captains, who like certain barons in the times of feudal anarchy, beset the passes, attack the Turkish caravans and the Armenian tax-gatherers, and make those leeches of their country disgorge. Prodigious feats of strength and courage are related of them, which would seem fabulous were they not so frequent: two or three haiduks will sometimes disperse a Pacha's whole train. The unoffensive traveller has seldom reason to fear ill-treatment at their hands; in becoming brigands the haiduks only obey the voice of nature, which cries to them to avenge the wrongs of their people, and they think they are fulfilling a duty.

Whenever the Bulgarian peasant knows that he is in the neighbourhood of these unseen protectors he holds his head erect before his oppressors. When by mischance I had taken a Mussulman guide with me on my visit to those districts, I could never find anything to buy at the *mehanas* (eating-houses); I was obliged to send the Turk out of the way and say to the host: Give me some dinner, brother; I am a Bulgarian myself. Thereupon he set before me whatever he had.

The heroic career of the haiduk often ends with an otmitsa or abduction of a young girl, whom he marries clandestinely, the bond being tied by a papas, who is kidnapped at the same time for that purpose. If he wishes, after his marriage, to become again a peaceful member of society, he must pay a considerable sum to the Turkish authorities; if he has not made money enough to defray that cost, he resumes his adventurous life, to which he almost always falls a martyr.

Another kind of adventurers is to be met with in Bulgaria. These are the *kiradshias* or carriers, who convey goods for merchants through all the provinces, and after delivering their consignments in Syria, in the Caucasus, or elsewhere, take a new load, which their camels or their little Balkan horses bring home to Europe. These men are remarkable for their unfailing honesty; their long journeys supply them

with inexhaustible matter for interesting conversation, and they are looked up to as the oracles of their villages; but unfortunately the habit of living much among strangers has greatly impaired the strength of their national feelings. The influence of the haiduks is confined to a narrow circle; the higher clergy hold with the Turks, and the kiradshias are neutral: the rest of the population, therefore, without leaders, without arms, and not even privileged to carry knives, must resign themselves to endure the exactions and oppressions of the Spahis and the Pachas.

CHAPTER X.

THE EFFORTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE BULGARIANS AFTER INDEPENDENCE, SINCE THE END OF THE LAST CENTURY.

The spirit of independence, as yet far from mature in Bulgaria, has been gradually gathering strength there since 1789, the grand era of the European nations. Austria and Russia had formed a coalition against the Sultan, whose weakness induced him to have recourse to a war of partizans against his enemies, and to cover his frontiers with free companies. Distinguished among the Bulgarian warriors was the son of a Bosnian haiduk, named Pasvan, who had been impaled at Pristina, after having, for a long time, ravaged Slavonic Turkey, sparing nothing, if the popular traditions are to be believed, but the convents of the Franciscans and the envoys of the Pope. His son, Omer Pasvan, like himself, half Mussulman, half Christian, having collected bands of Bulgarian volunteers, harassed the Austrian posts of Servia, and received in reward of his exploits the small fiefs of Kerdsheh and Berza, in the Balkans. Having subsequently been raised to the rank of bairaktar, or standard-bearer, of Vidin, Omer Pasvan, irritated by his insolence and his pomp Milek, the Pacha of that city, who made several

unsuccessful attempts to have him assassinated. At last the new bairaktar having dared publicly to blaspheme the Koran and its expounders, the ulemas of Widin roused against him the pious Moslems, who besieged his konak and set it on fire. Omer was taken with arms in his hands and delivered over to the executioner; but his son, Omer Pasvan Oglou, escaped, and fled to the ouskoks of Bosnia, from them to the revolted Djegues of Albania, and subsequently he and his haiduks took service under Mavrogenis, the hospodar of Valachia. Like his father, Pasvan Oglou distinguished himself in the war against Austria and Russia by his incursions, which extended up to the walls of Temesvar and Hermandstadt. In 1791, it is said, he entered into friendship with Tserni George, the hero of Servia. The Greeks, who love the marvellous, relate that the two great haiduks, after taking the communion together, pledged themselves to each other in a church, by the *vlam* or *pobratstvo*, (the oath of brotherhood.)

Having retired, in 1792, to his fief of Kerdshe, Pasvan Oglou there organized the famous bands of the Kerdshalis, which were swelled by deserters from the corps of the Janissaries. To put an end to the frightful ravages of Kerdshalis, the Sultan declared their chief *fermanlia* (excommunicated); a price was set upon his head, and it was only by means of a disguise that he escaped the assassins sent against him by the Porte. One of his slaves perished in his place, and the head, mistaken for that of Pasvan, was exposed before the gates of the Seraglio. But whilst Stamboul was rejoicing over the death of the leader of the brigands, news arrived that the supposed dead man had marched at the head of ten thousand Janissaries, into Vidin, where he had hanged all who had been implicated in his father's death, and that having no means of subsistence but through victory, he had invaded the domains of the neighbouring Pachas. The latter, being blockaded and despoiled by Pasvan's mercenaries, privately incited the Rayahs to take up arms against the Kerdshalis. Then for the first time after a lethargy of three centuries, the Bulgarians became conscious of their strength; but this premature awakening did not avail them; lacking intelligent leaders, they acted without union, and anarchy continued. The country was occupied by two

different bodies of armed men, the Mussulman Kerdshalis and the haiduks, who were for the most part Christian. The towns which put themselves under the protection of the haiduks, in order to resist Pasvan, were often severely mulcted by their protectors when they had failed in their attack on some fortress of the Kerdshalis, on the pillage of which they had reckoned for the means of subsistence. During the ten years the haiduks remained masters of the low country, they never could organize any regular government, and yet all the towns, excepting the fortresses, were open to them. Even the great Adrianople durst not resist them; they entered it freely, sometimes to the number of 15,000. The townspeople had then to find and roast forthwith, in the public thoroughfares, hundreds of oxen, to regale their wild guests, who, after they had had their fill, went off again to the gorges and forests of the Balkans.

Ill-treated alike by both parties the townspeople looked upon both Kerdshalis and Haiduks with the same scornful aversion, and called them indiscriminately *naked boys* (*golatji*). There were nevertheless some brave hearts, some genuine patriots among those Greco-Slave sans-culottes; but how was it possible to organise the chaos around them? Pasvan Oglou alone could have done so, had he not been induced by his ambition to throw the reins to the Kerdshalis instead of holding them in check. The flourishing city of Voskopolis, peopled by 50,000 Greco-Slaves, and situated in the mountains that separate Bulgaria from Epirus, was reduced by the exactions of those brigands to the condition of a poor village. The Vizier Pasmandshia, who was sent with the imperial army to blockade them in Vidin was beaten, and his camp was pillaged. The famous Ali Pacha of Yanina, then surnamed for his victories over the Greeks, the Lion of Islamism, joined at the Sultan's request the forty pachas of Asia and Europe, who were besieging Pasvan under the command of the Capitan Pacha Kutchuk Hussein; but the imperial army concentrated in Bulgaria, having been hastily transferred to Syria and Egypt to act against the French, the bandits of the Balkan had no longer anything to fear. They were seen marching like princes dressed in cloth of gold and silver; their handsome Tatar horses were groomed by their concubines, who fol-

lowed them to the field dressed in man's apparel. Every troop had its *boulouk bashi* or captain, who received orders from a *bimbashi* (colonel). The most celebrated of those wild heroes were Hadji Manov, Deli Kadriya, Kara Feisiya, and Gushants Ali. Having through their instrumentality become master of the Danube, which no boat descended without paying him tribute, Pasvan proceeded to extend his power over Servia, which was then governed by Mustapha, a most popular Pacha, who is surnamed in the Slave ballads *Serbska meika*, "the mother of the Serbs." Pasvan Oglou entered Servia in person, and sent his advanced guard to blockade Belgrade. Mustapha, surprised without an army, was forced to surrender, and was murdered. Pasvan became master of Servia, and gave it up to his terrible Janissaries, who perpetrated incredible atrocities, and finally rendered themselves independent of Pasvan, under four elected chiefs styled *dahis* or deys.

The whole moral force of these bands consisted in the principle they represented, which was the maintenance of the old spirit and practices of Islamism against the Sultan's innovations. Selim was then beginning that fatal reform after the European model under which the Ottoman Empire has ever since been slowly wasting away. The Janissaries were in insurrection all over Turkey, and engaged in incessant conflicts with the *nizam djedid* or new forces, disciplined in the Frank manner. The more the Sultan favoured the giaour institutions, the more rancorous the Janissaries became against the Sultan and against those brothers of the giaours, the Rayahs; until at last they resolved on entirely exterminating the latter. The Janissaries of Servia began the work in 1804; but haidukism, which had failed in Bulgaria, became fully established in Servia, and saved the Christian populations. The brigands, who peopled the caverns of the Serb and Bulgarian mountains, awoke at last to a nobler sense of their destiny. One of them, the famous Veliko, a Serb brought up in Vidin, began in Tserna Reka the national war both against Pasvan Oglou and the dahis. Unfortunately the Bulgarians, too pacific by nature, or overawed, perhaps, by the able Pasvan, did not partake in the generous impulse, and their haiduks were constrained to emigrate into Servia. There the captains of all the Serb

bands, convinced of the necessity of acting in concert, unanimously chose Tserni George for their commander-in-chief, beat the Janissaries on all hands, and drove them back to Belgrade, which they besieged. The starved out dahis made their escape, carrying off four great boatloads of treasure, hoping to find an asylum with their suzerain Pasvan. The haiduks pursued them by land along the Danube, till the fugitives entered Orsova, when the haiduks compelled the Turkish commandant to give up the tyrants. Milenko, a haiduk captain, went with his soldiers into the fortress, cut off the heads of the four dahis, and carried them back to the camp where they were stuck up on the lances.

The remnants of the Kerdshalis, now reduced to a handful of men, returned in the following year to Vidin, after escaping countless perils, and the Bulgarians of the Danube, seeing their old oppressors reappear in so wretched a plight, repented too late that they had not taken a more active part in the war of emancipation. Their remorse was the keener for as much as the Porte, hopeless of reducing Pasvan, had at last recognized him as the legitimate Vizier of Bulgaria.

The wars of the Russians on the Danube in 1810 and 1811 completed the disorganization of Islamism. Discord broke out in the Turkish Empire and spread to the garrisons of Bulgaria, some of which favoured while others opposed Mahmoud's reforms. The citadel of Rushtchuk was the focus of the intrigues of the reformist party; and Vidin was the asylum of all the Janissaries attached to the old order of things. Pasvan's successor, who had been his *molla* or secretary, and who is known in the country by no other name than that of Molla Pacha, felt the necessity of securing to himself a support against the innovators of the divan, and therefore offered, in 1811, his alliance to the rebels of Servia. It was the wish of the new prince of the Bulgarians, that the two countries should form a confederation for mutual defence against all adversaries; but the molla was a Mussulman, and the Servians were unwilling to support him. Moreover, an imperious circumstance soon forbade the prolongation of the conferences. Napoleon having declared war against the Tsar, the latter hastened to make peace with the Sultan. By the the treaty of Bukarest (28th May, 1812), Russia obtained the mouths of the Danube and Bessarabia as far as the Pruth;

but it was stipulated that Servia and Bulgaria should return under the Ottoman yoke. To obtain the accession of those two countries, it was necessary to cajole them with fine promises, and of these Russia was not sparing. The Servians, thinking it became them to rely on the Tsar more than on the Molla of Vidin, broke off all alliance with the Bulgarians, and both were thenceforth left defenceless to the vengeance of the Osmanlis, who put thousands of victims to death.

Molla Pacha was soon afterwards recalled. The vizierate of Bulgaria was given to Hussein Pacha, who, taking his predecessor for his model, monopolized the commerce of the Danube, and farmed out the fisheries and the right of navigating the river. A special circumstance determined the Servian Prince Milosch to conclude an alliance with the new Vizier. Vidin and Belgrade are attached to each other by many close ties, as Servia is to Bulgaria. Both posts command the Danube, and the one cannot be occupied in peace whilst the other is resolved on war. Prince Milosch, aspiring to a peaceful independence, felt that he could not attain to it so long as he had not the support of the Bulgarian balkans. Too weak and too crafty to seize Vidin openly, as the partizans of Pasvan Oglou had seized Belgrade, he took the molla for his model, signed a treaty of confederation with the cruel Hussein Pacha, and became not only his friend, but, as it were, his adopted brother. Hussein Pacha was then amassing out of the plunder of the Rayahs those treasures which, until 1843, made his court one of the most sumptuous in the East.

The Bulgarian haiduks did not reappear until the noise of the Greek insurrection of 1821 reached their caverns. Suddenly aroused from their slumbers, they inundated Macedonia; whole battalions of those independent warriors were seen in the Morea, and it was they who, by a final assault, took the Acropolis of Athens. Botchar, one of these Slaves, who was born in the Vorina, and had emigrated to Mount Sulion, has become famous throughout Europe, under the Greek name of Botzaris.

That heroic war ended in the battle of Navarino. Then the Russians, seeing Turkey exhausted, began a new campaign in the Balkan, under Field-Marshal Wittgenstein, in the summer of 1828. The fortune of war inclined at first to

neither side; but happily for Mahmoud, the sudden setting in of bad weather forced the Russians to raise the siege of Shumla and Silistria and to recross the Danube, leaving behind an immense quantity of materials of war, and strewing all the roads with their dead. The impassibility of the Bulgarians had many a time disconcerted the invading army. It is true they offered solemn thanks in their churches, for every victory won by the Russians over their tyrants; they even addressed them as their deliverers, but they refused to fight in their ranks. It would only have been a change of yokes, and their instincts prompted them to await the issue of the war, in order to turn it to good account for themselves.

In 1829, Diebitch, who had superseded Wittgenstein in the command of the Russian forces, brilliantly avenged the preceding discomfiture, beat Reschid's strong army in the defiles of Kulevtcha, forced it to shut itself up in Shumla, took Silistria by capitulation, and, leaving the Grand Vizier with the *élite* of the Ottomans behind him at Shumla, crossed the mountains at three different points. Aïdos, Karnabat, Missivria, and Bourgas, surrendered; Slivno was carried by storm on the 11th of August, and eight days afterwards the Russians were in Adrianople, the whole population of which welcomed them with shouts of joy. It seemed even that the Turks sympathised on this occasion with the victors more than the Bulgarians themselves. They were sick of all the foolish innovations of their giaour Sultan; they almost preferred a real giaour to that Mussulman innovator; and as Diebitch's proclamations guaranteed to all the most entire religious freedom, along with perfect security for person and property, the action of Mussulman fanaticism was paralysed. The unexpected manifestations of sympathy which the people bestowed on the Russians forced the Porte to capitulate. Moreover, Khosref Pacha had just discovered a plot that might have seriously imperilled the security of the empire; six hundred members of the conspiracy had already been put to death; its purpose was to murder all the Sultan's family with the rest of the *impious*, in order to restore genuine Islamism; perhaps even the conspirators reckoned on the support of the padishah of the north for the success of their enterprise.

So complete a demoralization of the Ottomans exalted the hopes of the Bulgarians to the highest pitch. A few years after this war a vast association was privily formed in Bulgaria through the instrumentality of the *didaskaloi*, men of letters and village schoolmasters. This Bulgarian *hetairia*, of which Europe was not cognizant, held its mysterious deliberations in the convents and forests adjoining Ternovo, whither the conspirators repaired from all parts, under pretext of celebrating the festivals of the *Panagia* (the Virgin Mary).

In the spring of 1837 the Padishah had a mind to visit his fortresses in Bulgaria. After having examined the auguries and consulted the astrologers, he set out with his court. Wherever he went he strove to testify an equal affection for the Bulgarians and the Osmanlis, and he eloquently harangued both parties on the necessity of living in concord and union. The poor Bulgarians tried to respond to this official tenderness by manifestations which were hardly more sincere. The Greek merchants came out from the towns to meet the Sultan with branches of laurel, and the Armenians with wax candles, shouting Mashallah! God save him! The Bulgarian villagers prostrated themselves in the dust before the *tchorbadshia*, the lord of their lives; but, as if by way of bitter derision, they suffered from excessive *corvées* beyond all former example. They were hunted down and driven in flocks, like cattle, to the fortresses, to complete in all haste, before Mahmoud's arrival, the works which the avarice of the Pachas had postponed until then. At this moment the hetairia of Ternovo had just matured its plans, when old Hadji Yordan, of the village of Elena, near Ternovo, wished to initiate into the conspiracy one of his relations who lived in the same village. The latter, before signing his name, asked to see the list of the conspirators, and as soon as he had read it he went and informed the Pacha, who communicated the denunciation to the Sultan. A Bulgarian of Sophia, who was *protomastor* or *kalfabashia* (first engineer), in the fortresses of Bulgaria, where he employed and paid with funds out of the imperial treasury two thousand Rayahs, the nucleus of the insurrectional army, died on the gallows with old Hadji Yordan and Iovanitsa, a rich merchant of Ternovo. The traitor who denounced them was rewarded by the Porte. One of the most zealous hetairists, Antonio,

of *tsintsar* origin, didaskalos of Ternovo and author of a Greco-Bulgarian Grammar, was condemned to the galleys and sent to the bagnio at Constantinople, where the Russian ambassador subsequently obtained his pardon. A Bulgarian in the service of that embassy had contributed not a little to inflame the minds of his countrymen, by promising the support of the Tsar; he, too, was seized, but he escaped and took refuge in the house of the Russian ambassador, which the Turks durst not violate. The rest of the conspirators were put to the torture by their Turkish judges, and many of them died in consequence. When questioned, thse unfortunate men denounced Hilarion, the octogenarian metropolitan of Ternovo, as one of their accomplices: he protested in dismay, cursed them, and went so far as to call for their death. It is not probable that the old Fanariote should have taken part in a plot laid by the young generation of the country; it would rather seem that the prisoners wished to delude the judges and enable the true patriots to escape by denouncing the foreign prelates.

The cruelties inflicted on the prisoners but imperfectly accomplished their purpose. In the same year (1838) a terrible insurrection and the siege of Jarkoï revealed the existence of a new plot. Remote as it is from Sophia, the fortress of Jarkoï is one of the keys of the Bulgarian capital. It was on a sudden surrounded by nearly 20,000 men, assembled from two or three hundred villages, who, whilst proclaiming themselves the Sultan's most faithful subjects, made known to the garrison of Jarkoï that the blockade would not be raised until fixed laws should have been substituted for the existing arbitrary usages with respect to *corvées* and taxes. A *kneze* or Servian captain of that frontier joined the beseigers with a troop of his countrymen, and promised them, on the part of Milosch, arms, powder and cannons. In reality, Milosch, who had to found a feudatory dynasty, was far from contemplating any step which would have compromised him with regard to his suzerain. When he heard, therefore, what the kneze had done, he had him seized in the very camp of the Bulgarians, and empaled; and then he sent as his representative to Jarkoï, Avram Petronievitch, the Servian minister for foreign affairs, who, by lavish promises, induced the beseigers to retire. The revolted Bulgarians

sent their delegates with Petronievitch in order to arrange the promised constitution ; but all the delegates could obtain was some unimportant modifications in the social state of the Bulgarians. The stareshines were not to be so dependent on the Turks as before. Every commune, moreover, was to be at liberty to choose and pay its own stareshine, who was to have two assistants able to read, and a municipal seal ; and all suits between Rayahs were to be tried in the first instance by those magistrates.

These concessions were but a lure ; the Bulgarians might have obtained much more if they had not trusted to Milosch. By its intervention on this occasion the Servian court cleverly secured the Sultan's gratitude, without offending the Bulgarians whose patron it became. The latter indulged a childish delight at having at last forced their inexorable tyrants to a first capitulation ; but it was not long before they discovered the worthlessness of these conventions. The Turkish beys had a thousand indirect means of interfering in the affairs of the communes, imposing on them stareshines of their own choice, or taking vengeance if they were rejected ; and the Bulgarians soon found themselves enslaved as before. Nevertheless, this insurrection, in which they had seen the brilliant imperial subashis fly before them, has left a deep impression on their minds. Jarkoï is become their rallying-word. Since that time, when the Bulgarian, usually so suspicious, wishes to mark his confidence in the stranger who has gained his friendship, he never fails to relate to him some particular of the siege of that town.

The Bulgarians of the Zagora, whose communal existence is entirely destroyed, and whose stareshines are but mere *kiaias* (lieutenants) of the Turks, were thinking of repeating the Jarkoï movement, when Mahmoud died in 1839. At the same time the stir among the Macedonian haiduks, who appeared by hundreds in the defiles, indicated that a bloody explosion was imminent in the valleys of the Struma. It was under such auspices that the new Sultan, Abdul Medjid, or rather his Grand Vizier, hoping to conjure the storm, published the unlucky hatti-sherif of Gulhaneh, which satisfied none of the real wants of those countries, and aroused all the passions of their inhabitants. The popular prophecies of the Greco-Slaves for the year 40 had not yet produced their

effect; the Bulgarians were all on the watch. In April of the following year, on the day of the forty martyrs, one of the principal feast-days of the Bulgarians, the breaking down of the great bridge over the Maritsa, at Adrianople, which caused the death of seventy-two persons, appeared to all a manifestation of the divine will which commanded war. Christians and Turks soon exchanged threats, and in most of the towns the Rayahs and their oppressors began to erect barricades against each other.

The country was agitated in all directions by the remains of the hetairia of Ternovo, and by the secret action of the *philorthodox*, who devoted themselves thenceforth to the propagation of those doctrines of political mysticism, which are peculiar to the Hellenes. Twelve priests, who were looked upon as the apostles of the celestial and regenerative Sophia, went about the Greco-Slave provinces, summoning the Rayahs to combine and force the Turks to restore to them the Church of St. Sophia, in Stamboul. Thus did all those various peoples unite for one common religious purpose. When the revolt of Candia and of the Thessalians had broken out, the Bulgarians followed that lead. Their first movements began at Kirk Kilisseh, in Rumelia, one of the places where their financial oppressions are sorest; but not daring to keep the plain, they contented themselves with occupying the mountain defiles. All communication was cut off between the capital and the northern fortresses; the whole country beyond Adrianople was under the guardianship of the haiduks, who undertook to discharge the functions of a police, and admirably they were performed by that despised populace. Travellers, and the couriers of foreign powers, continued to traverse the Balkan in all directions, under the escort of the haiduks, as if all around was profound peace. Yet frightful scenes were taking place in the country, and the strife between the Turks and the Rayahs was already marked by terrible episodes.

An event of quite an antique character was the immediate cause of the breaking out of hostilities. The *National Gazette* and the *Official Gazette* of the Serbs, published long and curious details on this subject. According to those journals, which are printed in the Serb language, the one at Buda, the other at Belgrade, the Bulgarian insurrection was

determined, like the Trojan war, and the revolt of Rome against the Tarquins, by violence done to a woman. The Helen, or Lucretia of the Bulgarians, was named Agapia. The nephew of the Pacha of Nisha, smitten by her beauty, had her seized and carried off from the midst of a kolo, and strove to force her to become a Mussulman, that he might marry her. As she resisted all means of persuasion, she was subjected to tortures, which she endured with fortitude. Baffled in their attempts to pervert her faith, her judges resolved to rob her of her virginity. That threat, it appears, was successful; the girl submitted to be made a Turk; and, when her father and his whole family came to ransom her from the Pacha's hands, they were told that she was no longer a Christian. On their refusing to believe this, she was produced, and threw herself in tears into the arms of her sorrowing relations. The kavasses soon put an end to the afflicting scene, and rudely drove the poor family away. The young Bulgarian was shut up in a *koula*, near the town, along with many other *momas* (girls) reserved for the same fate, namely, to be married to Mussulmans after their apostacy.

These deplorable scenes took place in the spring of 1841, a season of festivity among all the Slaves; but the dances had ceased on the green sward of the Balkans, and nothing was thought of but vengeance. The Bulgarian peasants rose up for the deliverance of their momas, and marched, armed with scythes, under two leaders, Miloïe and Gavra; the former of whom had in early youth been one of the haiduks, commanded by Tserni George; the latter was said to be a pope of Leskovats. Some months before the insurrection these two men had gone several times to Servia to complain of the Turks, and had entreated the senator, Mileta Radoïkovitch, chief of the quarantine and governor of the circle of Alexinats, and Mladene Voukomanovitch, captain of the frontier, to intercede for them. After setting forth the intolerable sufferings of the Rayahs, which the hatti-sherif of Gulhaneh had only aggravated, they confessed themselves fallen from the valour of their ancestors, and asked aid of the Servians towards beginning their war of deliverance. All the Servians dared to do was to give them six hundred okas (about 1,400 pounds) of powder, and some arms, with which the two

Bulgarian heroes prepared for the struggle. But first they sent delegates to Stamboul in the name and with the approval of their countrymen, to implore from their *dear Sultan* a mitigation of the miseries inflicted on them by the Spahis and the imperial tax-gathers. The delegates were seized at Philibeh, and carried back in chains to the governor of Nisha, who would have put them to death, had not their countrymen purchased their pardon of the covetous Mustapha. That Pacha wrote a letter to the Divan, and caused it to be signed by the bishop and clergy of Nisha, in which he represented the revolt of the peasants as a mere outbreak of turbulence, for which there were no reasonable motives. Nevertheless, so crying were the acts of injustice perpetrated by the Mussulman leaders, that the Turkish merchants themselves took the part of the Christians, and even went to demand justice for them of Mustapha, who dismissed them in a rage.

The Bulgarians were entrenched in the defile of Kotna Bogaz, where the Bishop of Nicha and his priests repaired to them and endeavoured, but in vain, to recal them to obedience. The rebels of the Pachalik of Vidin, driven out by Hussein's superior forces, having joined their brethren of Nisha, Jarkoï, and Vrania, the insurrection became serious. Mustapha began to tremble, and most humbly intreated the Prince of Servia to interfere for him with the rayahs. Prince Mikhail hastily convoked the national senate; and though in secret it was favourable to the insurgents, the Servian government disregarded the voice of the nation, and concluded that the strictest neutrality should be observed. Mikhail accordingly issued a threatening proclamation against all such of his subjects as should take any part in the Bulgarian revolt, and he lined his frontier with troops, in order to cut off all communication with the rebels. During this time the irregular troops of the pachas burned more than a hundred and fifty villages between Sophia and Nisha, empaling the men, dishonouring the women, and then throwing them into the flames of their burning houses, or carrying them off as slaves. The Bulgarians fled from all parts to the mountains, crying, *Shumo!* To the forest! Let us turn haiduks! Two thousand mounted men pursued them to their fastnesses; but the haiduks showed themselves worthy

of their ancestors, and only some thirty of all the proud spahis escaped out of their hands. The victors drove the Turks out of Derbend and Corvingrad, and having surprised the fort of Ak-Palanka, which was guarded only by six thousand Arnauts, they got possession of two cannons, and occupied that defile, which opened to them a passage towards Sophia and Constantinople. Miloïe then beset Nisha with more than ten thousand peasants, the same who had before blockaded Jarkoï, and who, armed with no other weapons than clubs, coulters, and axes, again demanded for their country a better constitution than that of Gulhaneh. But the Bulgarian monk Kepa, who was sent to Belgrade to solicit the intervention of the European consuls on behalf of his nation, and especially that of France, brought back news that he had everywhere been ill-received, and that all Europe, not even excepting France, discountenanced the Bulgarians.

At the same time, six thousand Albanians, led by Yakoub Pacha, and some nizam regiments under Hussein of Vidin, advanced by forced marches to relieve the citadel of Nisha. They found the insurgents entrenched on the Morava, at the village of Leskovats. After many bloody skirmishes, the Bulgarians, though ill-armed, at last risked a general action, and after a desperate fight dispersed, leaving three hundred dead, and a multitude of wounded on the field of battle. Miloïe, who covered the retreat, was surrounded within a league of Nisha, and had only time to throw himself into the koula of Kamenitsa, near the village of Matievats. Though the koula was not fortified, the Turks did not venture to storm it, but sent to Nisha for ten cannons, which after twenty-four hours' firing completely demolished it. Miloïe, covered with wounds, and hopeless of escaping from the Turks, killed himself with a pistol shot, to spare his five or six still uninjured comrades the trouble of defending him; and the latter cut their way through the besiegers, and escaped to the forests.

Brief as was the duration of this war, it had already caused such a scarcity in the fortresses of Bulgaria, that the price of bread rose in them to three piastres the oka; had it lasted a little longer, all the towns would have been compelled, by famine, to capitulate. But the haïduks, who alone could continue the war, had no longer a leader; they

soon became disorganized, and the boldest of them passed into Macedonia, where they joined the Greek klephts.

The Porte did not fail to take advantage of the tacit disapproval with which the haiduks were regarded. It began by dismissing the governor of Nisha, who had committed atrocious razzias in his sorties, and it took great pains to clear itself from the odium of these deeds in the eyes of the European Courts, without, however, going the length of ransoming the Bulgarians, who had been carried off in shoals and sold in Albania. It then sent its commissioner Teifik Bey into the Pashalik of Sophia, to inquire, it said, into the griefs of the insurgents, and to rectify them. Those griefs could be easily stated: the insurgents wanted stareshines chosen from out the nation, regular taxes, the abolition of arbitrary exactions, and the expulsion of the Armenian farmers of the revenue, who robbed the country in the name of the Pachas; they also wanted bishops who at least understood their language. Unfortunately the Porte called corruption to its aid; the example of defection was set by some dastards who received its gold; and the majority of the nation was discouraged by the official condemnation passed upon it by the Russian agents and all the consuls. Some literary dreamers still looked to France, and would have its mediation solicited, but the best informed treated this suggestion as folly, and with too good reason. The Servian Cabinet alone, resuming the part it had played in 1838, wrote to the Divan, protesting against Mustapha's atrocious cruelties, and put itself forward as the protector of the vanquished, between seven and eight thousand of whom took refuge in the Servian quarantine establishment of Alexinats, whilst others retired into Moldavia and Valachia. An attempt was made soon after by a party of the latter, numbering six hundred, or as some say fifteen hundred men, to recross the Danube at Braila; but they were intercepted and routed by a body of Valachian troops, and "order reigned" once more in Bulgaria. How it was afterwards again disturbed, has been related in Chapter I.

THE END.

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